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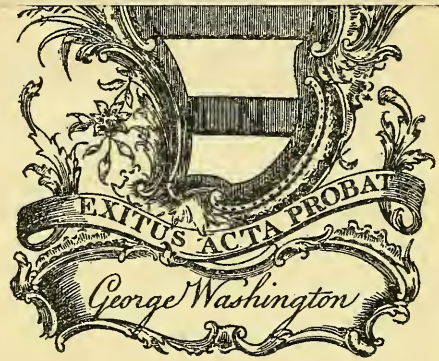

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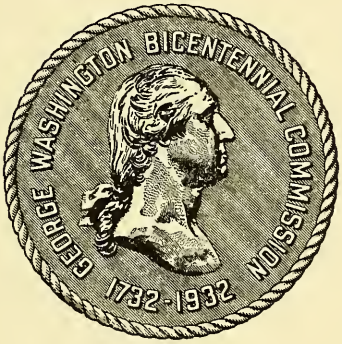

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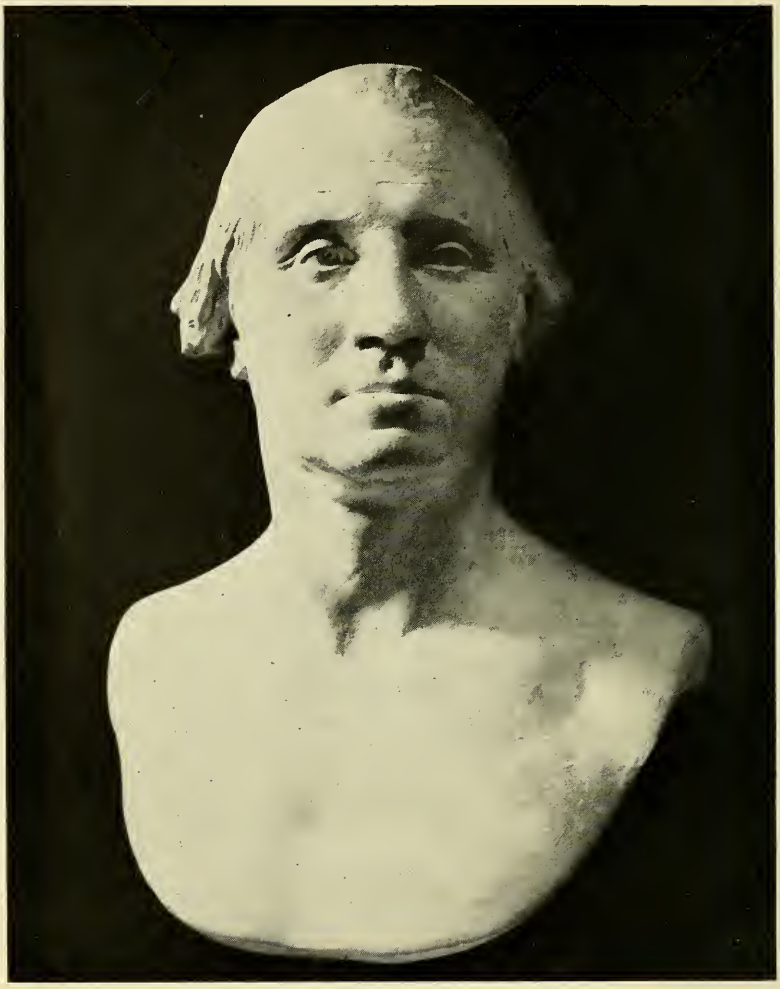

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THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

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THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

New York, September 1, 1776.

Sir: I received your favor of this date, and intend this evening to go to Harlem and see whether the situation of things will admit of the several detachments and dispositions you mention, so that every place necessary to be maintained should have measures taken for their defence. I should suppose that Hutchinson's[1] regiment, and the 300 men you say are at Mount Washington, will do to garrison it for the present, and will be equal to any force that will be brought against it, if they keep a good look-out and do not suffer a surprise. This you must strongly press upon them to guard against.—

As it is of great consequence to gain intelligence of the enemy's designs, and of their intended operations, I cannot but recommend your attention to this subject, and that you will Concert some measures with General Clinton[2] for establishing a Channel of information. I apprehend that his general acquaintance with most of the people in the colony will give him an opportunity of fixing upon suitable persons, and in whom a confidence may be reposed, to embark in this business, and who, from their connections on the island and the assistance of their friends there, might obtain frequent accounts that would be useful and of great advantage. Perhaps some might

[1] Col. Israel Hutchinson, of the Twenty-seventh Continental Infantry.
[2] Brig. Gen. George Clinton.

be got who are really Tories, for a reasonable reward, to undertake it. Those who are friends would be preferable, if they could manage it as well. I will not add more upon the subject, but heartily wish you and General Clinton could fall upon some mode to carry into execution a Scheme of this sort.

We are in extreme want here of a number of horses and teams to transport baggage &c., from place to place, and therefore have enclosed a warrant authorizing you, or any substituted by you to impress them. If they can be procured immediately by hiring it, it would be better; but if not, I beg you will take most early means to send them down by Impressing them, they must be had at all events.

If there is a possibility of procuring Boats for Harlem river It shall be done. I am, etc.[3] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, New York, September 1, 1776.

Whereas It is necessary to have a Number of Horses and Teams to be employed in Transporting and Conveying from place to place the Baggage and Things appertaining to the Army of the United States and there is reason to apprehend that they cannot be readily procured for Hire. These are therefore to request and authorize you or any person under you to impress such a Number of them as you may Judge material and necessary for the purposes aforesaid, and them having Impressed you [are to] send [them] down to the City of New York to the Qr. Master Genl.[4] [MS. H. S.]

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

New York, September 1, 1776.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your favor of that date, and should have Answered it by the Return of the Person who brought it; had I not been engaged then in a Multiplicity of business, which occasioned me to forget it, till he was gone.

[3] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[4] The impress warrant to General Heath was written and signed by Harrison.

In Respect to the Cattle on this Island, I shall desire the Commissary to purchase as many of them from the Inhabitants, as he can conveniently and will afford every Assistance the Situation of Affairs will admit of, to have the remainder secured; but as to those on Long Island, It is impossible for me to take any Measures, or give any Assistance to prevent their falling into the Enemys hands. I am persuaded the Number of Rangers you mention, were they to exert themselves, might be of Service and annoy the foraging Parties of the Enemy not a little. But Sir, I cannot spare any Men for that purpose. Tho' our Force is Called in from the out Posts and Collected on this Island, yet it will not be more than Competent to the defence of the several Lines necessary to be maintained; nor is it perhaps by any means so great as common estimation and report make it.

I am extremely obliged by your Opinion, on the defencible State of the Grounds above King's Bridge, tho' they had not escaped my Observation. Their Importance I am fully sensible of; and as far as the Critical situation of things will allow, their defence shall be attended to, to prevent if possible the Enemy from possessing them. I have the honor etc.

P. S. As the Posts at Kings Bridge are of such great Importance, I think it will be well and extremely necessary to be favored with your friendly exertions, in affording every Aid in your power for their defence. Cannot some more Militia be prevailed on to give their Assistance and in whom you can confide. I will not enlarge, being fully assured you will do all you can.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 1, 1776.

Parole Hartford. Countersign Boston.

It being necessary there should be an Arrangement of the troops, in order that they may act with union and firmness—The Army, as brigaded yesterday, is now arranged in three Grand

Divisions, under the following officers (Viz) Major Genl. Putnam to command the following brigades—Parsons's, Clinton's, Scott's, Fellow's, Silliman's.

The centre Divisions, under Genl. Spencer and Genl. Green the former to command the whole untill Genl. Green's recovery (Viz) Nixon's, McDougall's, Heard's, Wadsworth's, Douglass's, and Chester's.

Genl. Heath's to consist of Genl. Mifflin's Brigade and Genl. George Clinton's.

The centre Division to hold themselves in readiness to march immediately to Harlem to prevent the enemy's landing on this Island.

Samuel Augustus Barker, to act as Major to the Brigade under Col Douglass; Benjamin Talmadge Brigade Major to Colo Chester.

Col Haslett's[5] Regiment to march to join Genl. Mifflin, to whose Brigade he is to belong.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 2, 1776.

Sir: As my Intelligence of late has been rather unfavorable and would be received with anxiety and concern, peculiarly happy should I esteem myself, were it in my power at this Time, to transmit such Information to Congress, as would be more pleasing and agreeable to their wishes: But unfortunately for me, unfortunately for them, It is not.

Our situation is truly distressing. The Check our Detachment sustained on the 27th. Ulto. has dispirited too great a proportion of our Troops and filled their minds with apprehension and dispair. The Militia, instead of calling forth their

[5] Col. John Haslet, of the Delaware Regiment. He was killed at Princeton, N. J., Jan. 3, 1777.

utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our Losses, are dismayed, Intractable and Impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off, in some instances almost by whole Regiments, by half ones and by Companies at a Time. This circumstance of itself, Independent of others, when fronted by a well appointed Enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable, but when their example has Infected another part of the Army, When their want of discipline and refusal, of almost every kind of restraint and Government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and Subordination necessary to the well doing of an Army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our Military establishment would admit of, our Condition is still more Alarming, and with the deepest concern I am obliged to confess my want of confidence, in the generality of the Troops. All these circumstances fully confirm the Opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once in my letters took the Liberty of mentioning to Congress, That no dependence could be in a Militia or other Troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded and as fully convinced, as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our Liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, If not entirely lost, If their defence is left to any but a permanent standing Army, I mean one to exist during the War. Nor would the expence incident to the support of such a body of Troops as would be competent almost to every exigency, far exceed that which is daily incurred, by calling in Succour and new Inlistments, and which when effected are not attended with any good consequences. Men who have been free and subject to no controul, cannot be reduced to order in an Instant, and the Priviledges and exemptions they claim

and will have, Influence the Conduct of others, and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity and confusion they Occasion. I can not find that the Bounty of Ten Dollars is likely to produce the desired effect. When men can get double that sum to engage for a month or two in the Militia and that Militia frequently called out,—It can hardly be expected. The addition of Land might have a considerable Influence on a permanent Inlistment[6] Our number of men at present fit for duty are under 20,000. They were so by the last return and best accounts I could get, after the Engagement on Long Island, since which numbers have deserted.

I have ordered General Mercer to send the men intended for the Flying Camp to this place, about a thousand in number and to try with the Militia, if practicable, to make a diversion upon Staten Island. Till of late I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place, nor should I have yet, if the men would do their duty, but this I despair of. It is painful and extremely grating to me, to give such unfavourable Accounts, but it would be still more criminal to conceal the Truth at so critical a Juncture. Every power I possess shall be exerted to serve the Cause, and my first wish is, that whatever may be the event, the Congress will do me the Justice to think so. If we should be obliged to abandon the Town, ought it to stand as Winter Quarters for the Enemy? They would derive great conveniences from it on the one hand, and much property would be destroyed on the other. It is an Important question, but will admit of but little

[6]On September 16 it was resolved: "That Congress make provision, for granting lands, in the following proportions . . . such lands to be provided by the United States, and whatever expense shall be necessary to procure such land, the said expence shall be paid and borne by the states in the same proportion as the other expences of the war, viz. To a colonel 500 acres; to a lieutenant colonel, 450; to a major, 400; to a captain, 300; to a lieutenant, 200; to an ensign, 150; each non-commissioned officer and soldier, 100."

time for deliberation. At present I dare say the Enemy mean to preserve it, if they can. If Congress therefore should resolve upon the destruction of it, the Resolution should be a profound secret, as the Knowledge of it will make a Capital change in their plans.[7] I have the Honor &ca.[8]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 2, 1776.

Parole Effingham. Countersign Putnam.

The General hopes, after the inconveniences that have been complained of, and felt, that the commanding Officers of Corps will never, in future, suffer their men to have less than two days provisions, always upon hand, ready for any emergency—If hard Bread cannot be had, Flour must be drawn, and the men must bake it into bread, or use it otherwise in the most agreeable manner they can—They are to consider that all the last war in America, No Soldier (except those in Garrison) were ever furnished with bread ready baked, nor could they get Ovens on their march—The same must be done now.

The brigades under Genl. Spencer, are still to keep themselves in readiness to march at the shortest Notice; but in the mean time are to have Regimental and brigade parades assigned them, in case of an Alarm before they move—These parades not to interfere with any of those in Genl. Putnam's Division; to avoid which, the officers commanding them are to consult

[7] This letter was read in Congress September 3; at once considered in Committee of the Whole, and resolution adopted for reinforcing Washington with three battalions from Virginia, two from North Carolina and one from Rhode Island. The States north of Virginia were urged to send all the aid in their power to the army at New York. It was also resolved: "That General Washington be acquainted, that Congress would have special care taken, in case he should find it necessary to quit New York, that no damage be done to the said city by his troops on their leaving it: The Congress having no doubt of being able to recover the same, though the enemy should, for a time, obtain possession of it." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[8] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

him, and each other, that they may be disposed of to the best advantage.

When regiments march away in future, the officers are to see that the men take their tent-poles in their hands—All their Tin-Camp-Kettles, and see the Tents tied up carefully, and a sufficient guard left to take care of them.

The Brigades of Genl. Putnam's Division, are to furnish fifty men, to attend at the Hospital, upon Dr. Morgan, to whom their Names are to be returned.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 3, 1776.

Parole Vernon. Countersign Mifflin.

The General most earnestly requests, that the several Brigadiers, and Commandants of Brigades, get their respective Corps in the best order as soon as possible and for this purpose they should join in Brigades as soon as can be, on a parade appointed for that purpose.

The Brigade, Majors according to the new arrangement are to attend every day for orders while they stay in town if they should march to reinforce Genl. Mifflin's and McDougall's Brigades, they will fix upon one to come to Head Quarters every day for orders.

Genl. Fellows's Brigade to furnish a Captain, two Subs. and fifty men, for Boat duty, 'till further orders, to parade at Head Quarters, and receive Orders at eight OClock, every morning.

Some instances of infamous Cowardice, and some of scandalous Plunder, and Riot, having lately appeared, the General is resolved to bring the offenders to exemplary punishment—the Notion that seems too much to prevail of laying hold of property not under immediate care, or guard, is utterly

destructive of all Honesty or good Order, and will prove the ruin of any Army, when it prevails. It is therefore hoped the Officers will exert themselves, to put a stop to it on all future occasions. If they do not, e'er long Death will be the portion of some of the offenders.

The state of the Ammunition and Arms, should be a subject of constant attention to every officer.

The General hopes the justice of the great cause in which they are engaged, the necessity and importance of defending this Country, preserving its Liberties, and warding off the destruction meditated against it, will inspire every man with Firmness and Resolution, in time of action, which is now approaching—Ever remembring that upon the blessing of Heaven, and the bravery of the men, our Country only can be saved.

The General orders a return of every regiment to be made immediately, and delivered to the Brigadier, or Commandant of the brigade, so that the Brigade Returns may be made at twelve O'Clock to morrow.

The near approach of the enemy, obliges the Guards to be doubled—the several Brigade Majors are immediately to settle the duty of their Brigades, according to their strenght—This is confined to Genl. Putnam's division.

AFTER ORDERS

Capt. Hezekiah Holdridge of Col Wyllys's Regt. appointed to act as Major of said regiment, for the present.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH MERCER

New York, September 3, 1776.

Dear Sir: From the present complexion of our Affairs, It appears to me of the utmost Importance and that the most Salutary consequences may result, from our having a Strong

Encampment at the post on the Jersey side of the North River,[9] opposite to Mount Washington on this Island. I therefore think It adviseable and highly necessary, that you detach such a force from Amboy and Its dependencies, under the Command of an Officer of note, Authority and influence, with a Skilful Engineer, to lay out such additional Works as may be Judged Essential and proper, and the Situation of the Ground will admit of, they should be begun and Carried on with all possible diligence and dispatch.

It will be proper, that a considerable Quantity of provision should be collected for the Maintenance and support of the Camp, and for this purpose I wish you to have proper measures adopted to procure It and have it deposited there and at places of Security not far distant.

As the Continental Officers now at this post will take rank and the command probably of any you may send, unless he should be a General Officer, I think and Wish if you have one that possibly can be spared and in whose Judgement, activity and fortitude you can rely, that he may be appointed to the command rather than an Officer of Inferior rank. I am &c—

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

New York, September 4, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favors of the 29th. and 31st. Ulto. with their several Inclosures, have been duly received.

I sincerely wish the event of the Skirmish on Long Island had been as favourable to us as reported to you. Hurried and Involved in a Multiplicity of Business, I cannot give you a particular detail of It. I shall only add, that we lost in killed and wounded and prisoners from 700 to 1000 Men, among the

[9] Fort Lee, N. J.

prisoners are General Sullivan and Lord Stirling. The Enemy's loss has not been ascertained yet, But there is reason to believe, from the continuance of the action and the heavy firings between them and Lord Stirling's Detachment, that it was considerable. We have been informed so by Deserters, they overpowered our people by their Numbers and constant reinforcements.

When I have an Opportunity and circumstances will admit, I will enquire after Lieut. Johnson[10] and order him to Albany.

I am extremely obliged, by your Interposing to have the Boards sent down. I have informed the Quarter Master General, and directed him, to take measures for obtaining a large supply, as I have grounds to apprehend many will be wanted.

The short Inlistment of our Troops has been the Source of some of our misfortunes and of infinite trouble and difficulty already, and I am not without apprehension, that sooner or later, must prove of fatal consequence. I have wrote my sentiments very fully to Congress upon this Subject two or three Times. In a late Letter, I have urged the Expediency of a permanent Army during the War. The Necessity is too obvious to require Arguments to prove it. I think it will be adviseable to recruit out of the present Army as fast as possible; But I fear the progress will be but small. The bounties given by the different States, to raise their Quotas of men for so short a time, must have a prenicious tendency. Many will refuse to inlist, as that allowed by Congress is so low, in hopes of exacting more.

The Letters from our Officers in Canada, transmitted by General Gates, I have sent to Congress with the return you inclosed. I have also perused and delivered your Letter to the Commissary, having sealed it first, and wish matters to be so ordered as best to promote the Service.

[10] Lieut. Martin Johnson, of Lamb's artillery.

Observing that General Gates in his Letter to you, mentions his want of Cartridge paper for Musquets, I have wrote to Congress and requested them to supply it If possible, having none here or but very little, and have also directed the Quarter Master General to send up some Grind Stones, not knowing whether they can be had at Albany. I am &c.

P. S. Your Letter preceding the two Last, came to hand when I was sending away my papers and being put up with them after a cursory reading, I dont recollect it sufficiently to answer.

Being certain that we shall have occasion for a large Quantity of Boards for Barracks and Shelter for the Troops which will be posted at Kings bridge, in Its vicinity and over the River, opposite the Works erected at the upper end of this Island, I wish to be informed if they can be supplied and shall be glad those who undertake it will begin to hurry 'em down with all expedition, to the nearest Landing place to the Bridge.

To COLONEL FISHER GAY[11]

New York, September 4, 1776.

Sir: Whether you do not get the General Orders, with that regularity which is to be wished, or whether (which is hard to suppose) you do not attend to them, I will not undertake to determine, But it is a Melancholy truth, that Returns essentially necessary for the Commanding Officer to Govern himself by, and which might be made in an hour after they are called for, where care and Order are observed, are obtained with so much difficulty.

Nor can I help regretting, that not only regular Returns, but that orders, in instances equally important should be so little attended to. I therefore address myself to you in this manner, requesting in Express and peremptory terms, that you do without

[11] Of a Connecticut State regiment.

delay make out and return to the Adjutant General's Office immediately, an exact state of the Regiment or Corps under your Command. And that the like return be given in every Saturday at Orderly time without fail. I also desire in terms equally express, that you do not suffer the Men of your Corps to straggle from their Quarters, or be absent from Camp without leave, and even then, but few at a time. Your own Reputation, the safety of the Army, and the good of the cause depends, under God, upon our vigilance and readiness to oppose a Crafty and enterprising enemy, who are always upon the watch to take advantages. To prevent straggling let your Rolls be called over three times a day, and the delinquents punished. I have one thing more to urge, and that is, that every attempt of the Men, to plunder, Houses, Orchards, Gardens &c. be discouraged, not only for the Preservation of property and sake of good order, but for the prevention of those fatal Consequences, which usually follow such diabolical practices. In short Sir, at a time when every thing is at stake, It behoves every Man to exert himself. It will not do for the Commanding Officer of a Regiment to content himself, with barely giving Orders, he should see (at least know) they are executed. He should call his men out frequently and endeavour to impress them with a Just and true sense of their duty, and how much depends upon subordination and discipline. Let me therefore not only Command, but exhort you and your Officers, as you regard your Reputation, your Country, and the sacred Cause of Freedom in which you are engaged, to Manly and Vigorous exertions at this time, each striving to excell the other in the respective duties of his department. I trust it is unnecessary for me to add further, and that these and all other Articles of your duty you will execute with a Spirit and punctuallity becoming your Station. I am etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY BEEKMAN LIVINGSTON[12]

September 4, 1776.

Sir: In answer to both your favours Just received by Lieutt. Smith,[13] I can only say, that circumstanced as we both are at present, it is not in my power to give you any other instructions for your Conduct, than that you pursue every step which shall appear to you necessary and Judicious, for annoying and harrassing the Enemy, and to prevent their forraging, and while those measures are in any degree effectual, I would wish to have you continue on the Island; but as soon as you find you can be of no longer Service, I would have you make your retreat to the main, without further delay. You will take care to have Boats so provided, as to secure your Retreat in the best manner possible. I am etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 4, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you on the 2d. our affairs have not undergone a change for the better, nor assumed a more agreeable aspect than what they then wore. The Militia under various pretences of sickness &ca. are daily diminishing and in a little time I am persuaded their number will be very inconsiderable.

On Monday night a forty Gun Ship passed up the Sound between Governor's and Long Island and Anchored in Turtle Bay. In her passage she received a discharge of Cannon from our Batteries, but without any damage and having a favourable Wind and Tide, soon got out of their reach. Yesterday morning I dispatched Major Crane[14] of the Artillery with two twelve

[12] Of the Fourth New York Regiment. He was then on Long Island.
[13] Lieut. Samuel Smith, of the Third New York Regiment.
[14] Maj. John Crane, of Knox's artillery.

pounders and a Howitzer to annoy her, who hulling her several times forced her from that Station and to take shelter behind an Island where she still continues.

There are several other Ships of War in the Sound with a good many Transports or Store Ships which came round Long Island, so that, that communication is entirely cut off. The Admiral with the main body of the Fleet is close in with Governor's Island.

Judging It expedient to guard against every Contingency, as far as our peculiar situation will admit, and that we may have resources left, If obliged to abandon this place, I have sent away and am removing above Kingsbridge, all our Stores that are unnecessary and that will not be immediately wanted.

I have inclosed several original Letters from some of our Officers, prisoners at Quebec, which fell into General Gates's hands and were transmitted by him to General Schuyler who sent them to me. General Gates adds, that the persons who brought them said Genl. Burgoyne had sent Messages to the Inhabitants upon the Lakes inviting their continuance on their Farms and assuring them that they should remain in security.

The Post Master having removed his Office from the City to Dobbs's ferry, as it is said, makes it extremely inconvenient, and will be the means of my not giving such constant and regular Intelligence as I could wish. Cannot some mode be devised by which we may have a pretty constant and certain Intercourse and communication kept up? It is an Interesting matter and of great importance and as such I am persuaded will meet with due attention by Congress.

I have transmitted the Copy of General Gates's Letter, as sent me by General Schuyler, from which Congress will discover all the Information I have respecting General Burgoyne's Message and my latest Intelligence from Ticonderoga, with the returns of the Army there.

Those of the Army here it is impossible to obtain till the hurry and bustle we are now in, are a little over. I have &ca.

P. S. Congress will perceive by General Gates's Letter,[15] his want of Musquet Cartridge paper, It is Impossible to supply him from hence, they will therefore be pleased to order what he wants, If it can be procured, to be immediately sent him from Philadelphia.[16]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 4, 1776.

Parole America. Countersign Shelbourne.

It is with amazement and concern, the General finds, that the men of every regiment, are suffer'd to be constantly rambling about, and at such distances from their respective quarters and encampments, as not to be able to oppose the enemy in any sudden approach. He therefore not only commands, but most earnestly exhorts the Colonels and commanding officers of Corps, as they value their own reputation, the safety of the Army, and the good of the cause, to put an immediate, and effectual stop to such an unsoldierlike, and dangerous practice; as one step towards the accomplishment of which, he orders and directs that all those who shall be absent without leave be immediately punished.

The sick of the several regiments of Militia are to be discharged if they are well enough to get home, and choose to be discharged—All the other sick are to be provided for in such a manner, and in such places, as the Director General of the Hospitals and the several regimental Surgeons shall think best for them. In giving these discharges particular care is to be taken by the Colonels and General Walcott to see that none but those who are really sick be dismissed and that the discharges be given in writing by Genl. Walcott.

[15] Gates's letter to Schuyler, dated Aug. 26, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[16] The text is from the copy made in the office of the Secretary of Congress.

The General does in express and peremptory terms, insist upon exact Returns of the several Regiments, and other Corps, and the Brigadiers and officers commanding Brigades, are to see that this order is complied with, without delay; as it is essentially necessary for the General to be acquainted with the exact state of the army.

Col Glover, during the absence of Genl. Clinton, is to be considered as Commandant of his Brigade, and to be obeyed accordingly.

The increased number of waggons will in future admit of more regularity in marching the regiments than has yet prevailed—Whenever therefore a regiment is ordered to march they should get their Baggage in readiness, but not move it 'till conveniences are provided. The Qr Master of the regiment should then overlook it and stop all heavy, useless lumber, and the Commanders of regiments would do well, to take particular Care in this matter. No Colonel is to seize any boat, or waggon, by his own Authority, on Penalty of having his baggage turn'd out and left.

The Brigade Majors are ordered to have their Brigade Returns immediately made, or the General will put the Delinquents in Arrest; unless the Adjutants fail in their duty, and they put such Adjutants in Arrest.

The Brigade Majors both standing and temporary are hereafter punctually to attend at eleven O'Clock at Head Quarters. There has been of late a shameful remissness in some of them.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH MERCER

New York, September 5, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have been favoured with your two Letters of the 3rd. Instt. and observe what you have done in consequence of my Instructions. When I wrote for Troops to be sent to the post opposite Mount Washington, I did not imagine you would

have so Many to spare. About a Thousand under General Ewing,[17] in addition to those already at the post, I think will be fully competent to Its defence and such Works as may be necessary to erect, and will also be sufficient to carry them on. More I conceive will be unnecessary and may be better employed elsewhere. I am &c.

P. S. You will be pleased to keep in view the matter I mentioned to you about Staten Island, Esteeming a Diversion there, if it can be effected will be of great Service.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 5, 1776.

Parole Chatham. Countersign Maryland.

The Brigade Majors immediately to settle a Court Martial making an allowance for the Absence, or Indisposition, of any officers. They are to meet at the Brick-House near the encampment, late of Genl. McDougall, to morrow at ten O'Clock. Notice to be given accordingly—They are first to try the Scoundrels, who have been detected in pillaging, and plundering, Lord Stirling's, and other property.

Such as were directed by yesterday's Orders to apply to Genl. Walcott for discharges are in future to apply to the Brigadiers under whom their Regiments are ranged.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

New York, September 5, 1776.

Dear Sir: As every thing in a manner depends upon obtaining intelligence of the enemy's motions, I do most earnestly entreat you and General Clinton to exert yourselves to accomplish this most desirable end. Leave no stone unturned, nor do

[17] Brig. Gen. James Ewing, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

not stick at expense to bring this to pass, as I never was more uneasy than on account of my want of knowledge on this score.

Keep, besides this precaution, constant lookouts (with good glasses) on some commanding heights that look well on to the other shore (and especially into the bays, where boats can be concealed), that they may observe, more particularly in the evening, if there be any uncommon movements. Much will depend upon early intelligence, and meeting the enemy before they can intrench. I should much approve of small harassing parties, stealing, as it were, over in the night, as they might keep the enemy alarmed, and more than probably bring off a prisoner, from whom some valuable intelligence may be obtained.

Your command lays in the two brigades of Mifflin and Clinton, from whom let me have, and without delay, exact returns. As far as you find it convenient to advance any of those men, so far your authority extends.

Let me entreat your particular attention to the stores, &c. sent up to the posts above. I am, etc.[18]

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

New York, September 6, 1776.

Dear Sir: The present posture of our Affairs, the Season of the year, and many other reason's which might be urged, renders it indispensably necessary that some Systematic plan should be form'd, and, as far as possible pursued, by us. I therefore desire that immediately upon receipt of this Letter you will let Genls. Mifflin and Clinton know that I desire to see them with you, at this place, (Head Quarters) at Eight Oclock to morrow Morning. Let them know (which may be done by shewing each of them this Letter) the business they are called together

[18] The text is from the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Fifth Series, vol. 4.

for, in order that their thoughts may be turnd as much as possible to the Subject.

It might be well for neither of you to mention your coming hither (least, if the Enemy should have notice of the Generals being absent from their Posts some advantages might be taken of it) but it will be very proper to leave directions with the next Officers in Comd. in case an Enemy should appear what they are to do that no confusion may arise. I am, etc.

P. S. Do not fail to bring exact returns of the two Brigades with you, and the two Jersey Regiments at Fort Washington; a perfect knowledge of our strength being indispensably necessary to the determining upon any Plan. [MS. H. S.]

To THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY OF NEW YORK

Head Quarters, New York, September 6, 1776.

Sir: I have now before me your Letter of the 4th Inst., inclosing the report against Ordering out any more of the Militia from the Counties of Orange, Dutchess, Westchester or Ulster. The reasons alledged by the Committee, to whom this matter was referred, are intirely satisfactory to me, and therefore I do not expect a Compliance with that part of my Letter which respects this Matter. I have the Honor to be &ca.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

New York, September 6, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 31st Ulto. and am extremely obliged by the Measures you are taking, in consequence of my recommendation Letter. The exertions of Connecticut upon this, as well as upon every other occasion, do them great honor and I hope will be attended with successful

and happy Consequences. In respect to the mode of Conduct, to be pursued by the Troops, that go over to the Island, I cannot lay down any Certain rule, it must be formed and governed by Circumstances and the Direction of those who Command them.

I should have done myself the honor of transmitting you an Account of the Engagement between a detachment of our Troops and the Enemy on long Island on the 27th, and of our Retreat from thence, before now, had it not been for the Multiplicity of Business I have been involved in ever since; and, being still engaged, I cannot enter upon a Minute and particular detail of the affair; I shall only add, that we lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, from 700 to 1,000 Men. Among the Prisoners are Genl. Sullivan and Lord Stirling. The Inclosed list will shew you the names of many of the officers that are Prisoners; The Action was chiefly with the Troops from Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower Counties, and Maryland, and Col. Huntingdon's Regt.; they suffered greatly, being attacked and overpowred by Numbers of the Enemy greatly superior to them. The Enemy's loss we have not been able to ascertain; but we have reason to believe it was considerable, as the Engagement was Warm and Conducted with great Resolution and bravery on the part of our Troops. During the Engagement, a deep Column of the Enemy descended from the Woods and attempted an Impression upon our Lines, but retreated immediately on the Discharge of a Cannon and part of the Musquetry from the line nearest to them. As the Main body of the Enemy had Encamped not far from our Lines, and I had reason to believe they intended to force us from them by regular Approaches, which the Nature of the Ground favored extremely, and at the same time meant, by the Ships of War, to cut off the Communication between the City and the Island, and by that means keep our Men divided and unable to oppose them any

where; by the advice of the General Officers, on the night of the 29th, I withdrew our Troops from thence without any loss of Men and but little Baggage. I am &c.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, New York, September 6, 1776.

Sir: By a Letter from Major General Sullivan, while on Long Island, and which he acquainted me was wrote by your permission, I was informed, it would be agreeable to exchange that Gentleman for Major General Prescott, and Brigadier Lord Sterling for any Brigadier of yours in our possession.

In consequence of this intelligence, I have wrote to Congress, requesting that General Prescott may be sent here, that this proposal may be carried into execution. We have no Brigadier of yours a Prisoner with us, except General McDonald, taken in North Carolina, whom I am willing to exchange for Lord Sterling, and shall be glad to know your pleasure on the Subject.[19] I have the Honor to be Sir, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 6, 1776.

Sir: I was last Night honored with your favor of the 3d with sundry Resolutions of Congress and perceiving it to be their Opinion and determination that no Damage shall be done the City, in case we are Obliged to abandon it, I shall take every measure in my power to prevent it.

Since my Letter of the 4th., nothing very material has occurred, unless it is, that the Fleet are drawing more together and all getting close in with Governor's Island. Their designs we cannot learn, nor have we been able to procure the least information lately, of any of their plans or intended operations.

[19] See Washington's letter to Sir William Howe, Sept. 19, 1776, *post*.

As the Enemy's movements are very different from what we expected and from their large Encampments a considerable way up the Sound, there is reason to believe they intend to make a landing above or below Kings bridge and thereby to hem in our Army and cut off the communication with the Country; I mean to call a Council of General Officers to day or to morrow and endeavour to digest and fix on some regular and certain System of Conduct to be pursued, in order to baffle their efforts and counteract their Schemes and also to determine on the expediency of evacuating or attempting to maintain the City and the several posts on this Island.

The result of their opinion and deliberations I shall advise Congress of by the earliest Opportunity, which will be by Express, having it not in my power to communicate any Intelligence by post as the Office is removed to so great a distance and entirely out of the way.[20]

I have inclosed a List of the Officers who are prisoners, and from whom Letters have been received by a Flag. We know there are others not included in the list.

General Sullivan having informed me, that General Howe is willing that an exchange of him for General Prescot should take place, it will be proper to send General Prescot immediately that it may be effected.

As the Militia Regiments in all probability will be impatient to return and become pressing for their pay, I shall be glad of the direction of Congress, Whether they are to receive it here, or from the Conventions, or Assemblies of the respective States to which they belong. On the one hand, the settlement of their Abstracts will be attended with trouble and difficulty; on the other they will go away much better satisfied and be more ready to give their aid in future, If they are paid before their departure.

[20] See Washington's letter to Congress, Sept. 4, 1776, *ante*.

Before I conclude, I must take the Liberty of mentioning to Congress the great distress we are in for want of Money. Two month's pay and more to some Battalions, is now due the Troops here, without any thing in the Military chest to satisfy it. This occasions much disatisfaction and almost a general uneasiness. Not a day passes without complaints and the most Importunate and urgent demands on this head. As it may Injure the service greatly, and the want of a regular supply of cash produce consequences of the most fatal tendency, I entreat the attention of Congress to this Subject and that we may be provided, as soon as can be with a sum equal to every present claim.

I have wrote to General Howe proposing an Exchange of General McDonald for Lord Stirling and shall be extremely happy to obtain it, as well as that of General Sullivan for General Prescot, being greatly in want of them and under the necessity of appointing protempore some of the Colonels to command Brigades. I have &ca.

P S. As two Regiments from Carolina and 3 more from Virginia are ordered here, If they could embark at Norfolk &ca. and come up the Bay with Security, It would expedite their arrival and prevent the men from a long fatiguing march. This However should not be attempted; If the Enemy have Vessels in the Bay and which might probably intercept 'em.[21]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 6, 1776.

Parole Pitt. Countersign Camden.

David Henly Esqr. is appointed Depy. Adjt. General until further orders, and is immediately to repair to General Spencer's division to regulate the several Returns and do the other

[21] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The "Letter Book" records the last sentence thus: "If the Enemy have Vessels that could take them and that are in the Bay."

duties of said office, extending his care to the division under Genl. Heath. he is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

Col Glover, Commandant of Genl Clinton's Brigade, is to recommend a suitable, active officer, for Major of Brigade, in Major Henly's stead.

The General expects the Majors of Brigade, to be very active and careful, to get their Brigades in the best order; to bring on their Guards and Fatigue Parties early; see the proper reliefs marched off; Returns made, and to march with the Brigade to the Alarm Posts, as frequently as possible—The Adjutants being under their particular direction, they are to see that they do their duty and put them in Arrest where they fail in it.

The Majors of Brigade and Adjutants are reminded, that the Returns are all expected in to morrow, both regimental and brigade, in order to complete the General Return. Any one who fails will be noticed in public orders.

The General is resolved to put a stop to plundering, and converting either public, or private property, to their own use when taken off, or found by any soldiers—He therefore calls upon all the officers, to exert themselves against it, and if the Colonels, or other officers of Regiments see, or know, of any Horses, Furniture, Merchandize, or such other Property, in the hands of any officer or soldier; and do not immediately take hold of it, giving immediate notice of it to the Brigadier General; such Officer will be deemed a party, brought to a Court Martial, and broke with Infamy: For let it ever be remembered, that no plundering Army was ever a successful one.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 7, 1776.

Parole Temple. Contersign Liberty.

John Davis of Capt Hamilton's Company of Artillery, tried by a Court Martial whereof Col. Malcom was President, was

convicted of "Desertion" and sentenced to receive Thirty-nine lashes. Levi Webster, of Capt Hydes Company, Col Wyllys's Regt., convicted by the same Court Martial of the same offence, sentenced to the same punishment.

The General approves the sentence, and orders them to be executed, on the regimental parade, at the usual hour in the morning.

A Court Martial, consisting of a Commandant of a brigade, two Colonels, two Lt. Cols.—two Majors and six Captains to sit to morrow at Mrs. Montagnie's to try Major Post[22] of Col Kacklien's Regt. "For Cowardice, in running away from Long-Island when an alarm was given of the approach of the enemy. The same Court Martial also to try John Spanzenberg Adjutant of the same Regiment, for the same offence, and likewise Lieut Peter Kacklein.[23]

Benjamin Stone appointed Quarter Master, William Adams appointed Pay Master; Nathaniel Webb Adjutant of Col Durkee's Regiment. Daniel Tilden Esqr. to do duty as Captain 'till further orders.

Richard Sill appointed Pay Master to Col Tylers Regimt.

Major Lee[24] is desired to do "duty of Brigade Major in Major Henly's stead, 'till an appointment is made.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 7, 1776.

Sir: This will be delivered you by Captain Martindale and Lieutenant Turner[25] who were taken last Fall in the armed Brig

[22] Maj. Michael Probst, of Lieut. Col. Peter Kechlein's Pennsylvania Militia.

[23] The *Pennsylvania Archives* and Heitman's *Register* do not agree as to the Kechlein's, or Kachlein's. The *Archives* give Peter the rank of lieutenant colonel, commanding the Northampton County regiment, and Andrew as a captain in the Bucks County militia; Heitman makes Andrew the colonel and Peter the lieutenant, but this Lieutenant Peter was Peter, jr.

[24] Maj. William Raymond Lee, of the Fourteenth Continental Infantry.

[25] Capt. Sion Martindale and Lieut. Moses Turner were both of the Third Rhode Island Regiment before being detached for service on the Continental armed vessels.

Washington and who with Mr. Childs the 2d. Lieutenant have lately effected their escape from Hallifax.

Captain Martindale and these two Officers have applied to me for pay from the 1st. of January 'till this time But not conceiving myself authorized to grant it, however reasonable It may be, as they were only engaged 'till the last of December; at their Instance I have mentioned the matter to Congress and submit their case to their consideration. I have &ca.[26]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you on the 6th. instant, I have called a Council of the General Officers, in order to take a full and comprehensive view of our Situation and thereupon form such a plan of future defence, as may be immediately pursued and subject to no other Alteration than a change of Operations on the Enemy's side may occasion.[27] Before the landing of the Enemy on Long Island, the point of Attack could not be known or any satisfactory Judgment formed of their Intentions. It might be on Long Island, on Bergen or directly on the City, this made it necessary to be prepared for each, and has occasioned an Expence of Labour which now seems useless and is regretted by those who form a Judgment from after Knowledge. But I trust, men of discernment will think differently and see that by such Works and preparations we have not only delayed the Operations of the Campaign, till it is too late to effect any capital Incursion into the Country, but have drawn the Enemy's forces to one point and obliged them to decline their plan, so as to enable us to form our defence on

[26] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[27] The record of this council of war (held September 7) is missing from the *Washington Papers*. It was evidently missing in 1781, as there is a blank page left in the Varick Transcripts where it should have been entered.

some Certainty. It is now extremely obvious, from all Intelligence, from their movements and every other circumstance, that having landed their whole Army on Long Island (except about 4000, on Staten Island) they mean to enclose us on the Island of New York by taking post in our Rear, while the Shipping effectually secure the Front, and thus either by cutting off our communication with the Country, oblige us to fight them on their own Terms, or surrender at discretion, or by a brilliant Stroke endeavour to cut this Army in pieces and secure the Collection of Arms and Stores which they well know we shall not be soon able to replace.

Having therefore their System unfolded to us, it became an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a Choice of difficulties and every Measure on our part (however painful the reflection is from experience) to be formed with some Apprehension that all our Troops will not do their duty.

In deliberating on this Question it was impossible to forget, that History, our own experience, the advice of our ablest Friends in Europe, the fears of the Enemy, and even the Declarations of Congress demonstrate, that on our Side the War should be defensive. It has even been called a War of Posts. That we should on all Occasions avoid a general Action, or put anything to the Risque, unless compelled by a necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn.

The Arguments on which such a System was founded were deemed unanswerable and experience has given her sanction. With these views, and being fully persuaded that it would be presumption to draw out our Young Troops into open ground, against their Superiors both in number and Discipline; I have never spared the Spade and Pick Ax; I confess I have not found that readiness to defend even strong Posts, at all hazards, which is necessary to derive the greatest benefit from them. The honor

of making a brave defence does not seem to be a sufficient stimulus, when the success is very doubtful, and the falling into the Enemy's hands probable. But I doubt not this will be gradually attained. We are now in a strong Post, but not an Impregnable one, nay acknowledged by every man of Judgment to be untenable, unless the Enemy will make the Attack upon Lines, when they can avoid it and their Movements indicate that they mean to do so. To draw the whole Army together in order to arrange the defence proportionate to the extent of Lines and works, would leave the Country open to an Approach and put the fate of this Army and its Stores on the hazard of making a successful defence in the City, or the Issue of an Engagement out of it. On the other hand to abandon a City, which has been by some deemed defensible and on whose Works much Labour has been bestowed, has a tendency to dispirit the Troops and enfeeble our Cause. It has also been considered as the Key to the Northern Country. But as to this I am fully of opinion, that by Establishing of strong posts at Mont Washington on the upper part of this Island and on the Jersey side opposite to it, with the Assistance of the Obstructions already made and which may be improved in the Water, that not only the navigation of Hudson's River but an easier and better communication, may be effectually secured between the Northern and Southern States. This I believe every one acquainted with the situation of the Country will readily agree to, and will appear evident to those who have an Opportunity of recuring to good maps. These and the many other consequences, which will be involved in the determination of our next measure, have given our Minds full employ and led every one to form a Judgement, as the various objects presented themselves to his view. The post at Kings Bridge is naturally strong and is pretty well fortified the Heights about it are commanding and might soon be made more so.

These are important Objects and I have attended to them accordingly. I have also removed from the City all the Stores and Ammunition, except what was absolutely Necessary for its defence and made every other Disposition that did not essentially enterfere with that Object, carefully keeping in view, until it should be absolutely determined on full consideration, how far the City was to be defended at all events. In resolving points of such Importance, many circumstances peculiar to our own Army, also occur; being Provided only for a Summers Campaign, their Cloaths, Shoes and Blanketts will soon be unfit for the change of weather which we every day feel. At present we have not Tents for more than 2/3ds., many of them old and worn out, but if we had a Plentiful supply the season will not admit of continuing in them much longer.

The case of our Sick is also worthy of much consideration, their number by the returns form at least 1/4th. of the Army: Policy and humanity require they should be made as comfortable as possible. With these and many other circumstances before them, the whole Council of General Officers, met Yesterday, in order to adopt some general line of Conduct to be pursued at this important crisis; I intended to have procured their seperate opinions on each point, but time would not admit I was Obliged to collect their sense more generally than I could have wished; We all agreed that the Town was not tenable if the Enemy was resolved to bombard and Cannonade it: But the difficulties attending a removal operated so strongly, that a Course was taken between abandoning it totally and concentring our whole strength for its defence; nor were some a little influenced in their Opinion, to whom the determination of Congress was known, against an Evacuation totally; suspecting that Congress wished it to be maintained at every hazard,[28] It

[28] Washington's letter was read in Congress (September 10), and it was resolved "That Mr. President inform General Washington, it was by no means the sense of Congress in their resolve of the third inst. respecting New York, that the army, or

was concluded to arrange the Army under three Divisions 5000 to remain for the defence of the City, 9000 to remove to Kingsbridge, as well to Possess and secure those Posts, as to be ready to Attack the Enemy, who are moving Eastward on long Island, if they should attempt to land on this side; The remainder to occupy the intermediate space and support either, that the sick should be immediately removed to Orange Town— and Barracks prepared at Kingsbridge with all expedition, to cover the Troops; there were some Generals in whose Judgments great confidence is to be reposed, that were for an immediate removal from the City, urging the great danger of one part of our Army being cut off, before the other can support it, The extremities being at least 16 Miles apart; that our Army when collected is inferior to the Enemy; that they can move with their whole force to any point of Attack and consequently must succeed, by weight of numbers, if they have only a part to oppose them; that by removing from hence we deprive the Enemy of the Advantage of their Ships, which will make at least one half of the force to attack the Town; that we keep them at bay, but put nothing to the hazard and at all events keep an Army together, which can be recruited another Year; that the unspent Stores will also be preserved, and in this case the heavy Artillery can be secured.—But they were overruled by a Majority, who thought for the present a part of our force might be kept here and attempt to maintain the City a while longer.[29] I am sensible a retreating Army is incircled with

any part of it, should remain in that city a moment longer than he shall think it proper for the public service that troops be continued there." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[29] General Greene was urgent for the immediate evacuation of New York and the destruction of the city. The entire difficulty over New York rested with the strong loyalist element and the natural objection to a heavy property loss, which latter placed too great a strain upon the immature and green patriotism of the citizens. John Jay was one of the few New Yorkers who was willing to see the city destroyed rather than allow it to become an advantage to the British. Greene's arguments are in the *Washington Papers* under date of Sept. 5, 1776, and fill seven pages. They are printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 2, 182.

difficulties, that the declining an Engagement subjects a General to reproach and that the common Cause may be in some measure affected by the discouragements which it throws over the minds of many; nor am I insensible of the contrary effects, if a brilliant stroke could be made with any Probability of success, especially after our loss upon Long Island: but when the fate of America may be at stake on the Issue; when the Wisdom of cooler moments and experienced Men have decided that we should protract the War if Possible; I cannot think it safe or wise to adopt a different System, when the season for Action draws so near a close. That the Enemy mean to Winter in New York there can be no doubt; that with such an Armament they can drive us out is equally clear. The Congress having resolved, that it should not be destroyed, nothing seems to remain but to determine the time of their taking Possession It is our Interest and wish to prolong it, as much as possible, provided the delay does not affect our further measures. The Militia of Connecticut is reduced from 8000[30] to less than 2000 and in a few days will be merely nominal; the arrival of some Maryland Troops &c. from the flying Camp, has in a great degree supplied the loss of Men, but the Ammunition they have carried away will be a loss sensibly felt. The impulse for going home was so irrisistable, it answered no purpose to oppose it, tho' I could not discharge, I have been obliged to acquiesce; and it affords one more melancholy Proof how delusive such dependences are.

Inclosed I have the Honor to transmit a General Return of the Army, the first I have been able to obtain for a considerable time; Also a report from Captain Newel[31] from our Works at Horn's Hook, or Hell Gate; their situation is extremely low and the sound so very narrow that the Enemy have 'em much within their Command. I have &ca.

[30] Harrison wrote 6000, but a later pen change makes it 8000.
[31] Capt. Eliphalet Newhall, of Knox's artillery.

P. S. The Inclosed information this minute came to Hand,[32] I am in hopes we shall hence forth get regular Intelligence of the Enemy's Movement.[33]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH MERCER

Head Quarters, New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir: I have received your letter by General Roberdeau[34] of the 8th. of Septembr, and am sorry to hear of your indisposition, which however I hope will in a short time be removed. There has nothing very material passed in this Quarter since you were here, still matters wear so critical an aspect, that I have determined to call over Colonel Ward's Regiment[35] from the post opposite Mount Washington; you will therefore be pleased to detach so many of the Troops under your Command, as will make up this deficiency, and still keep General Ewing's Compliment of fifteen hundred men intire. Notwithstanding this Assistance, I shall still stand in need of two or three thousand men to reinforce the posts here, and am anxious for the arrival of the Maryland and Virginia Troops, which are on their march to this place, I shall be glad you will immediately inform me by Express, where they are, and when I may with Certainty expect them; I could wish they were pushed forward with all possible expedition. General Roberdeau will Communicate to you, the result of the Council, also any other thing material which are not mentioned in this Letter. I am, etc.

P. S. I desire you will direct the Engineer to Expedite the Works (to the utmost of his abilities) which are necessary for the defence of General Ewing's Post.

[32] The intelligence was from Isaac Nicoll at New Rochelle, N. Y. Washington forwarded the original, and it is filed with his letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[33] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[34] Brig. Gen. Roberdeau, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

[35] Col. Andrew Ward's Connecticut State regiment.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, New York, September 8, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have lately received Information (on which I can in some measure rely) that it is impracticable for Carriages to pass from Harlem point or any of the landing places contiguous to it, towards Kingsbridge any other way than along the publick roads; I should therefore, conceive it would be highly expedient to throw every impediment and obstruction in the ways leading from the above mentioned places, as also in the roads leading from Morrissania and Delancy's Mills, and indeed any other, which you conceive there is a probability of the Enemy's making use of, in order to prevent, or at least delay them in the Conveyance of their Artillery. In some places it may be necessary to fell trees across the roads, in others I would recommend deep pitts to be dug. In short I must request you will have them broke up and destroyed in such a manner as to render them utterly impassable.

I mean those roads within your district leading from Kingsbridge down to the points, on which it is supposed the Enemy will Land. I am etc.

P. S. As the money is now arrived, you will order to be delivered in all the pay abstracts for July and Augt.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir: I have this day wrote to the President of the Convention of New York, requesting that an Aid of Six hundred Militia may be sent to you from the Counties of Ulster and Orange, or any other that is more proper and convenient, for the purpose of assisting you, either in the defence of the High lands, in case

they should be attacked, or of constructing New Works and Fortifications, by which they may be rendered more secure. However, whether you receive this Reinforcement or not, I must intreat you in the strongest manner to exert yourself to the utmost of your abilities in making those two posts at the High lands, as defensible as possible. Their great Importance must be obvious to every person. I am.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir: I have just received the Resolve of your Convention, respecting the removal of the Bells belonging to the different Churches and Public Edifices in this City, to New Ark in the Province of New Jersey. The Measure I highly approve of, and shall accordingly have it Carried into Execution.

I have lately been Conversing with Genl Clinton, concerning the Defence of the Forts in the Highlands, who agrees with me in Sentiment, that the force already there is by no means Sufficient; I should therefore conceive it would be greatly in advancement of the Service, if you would cause a Reinforcement of Militia, amounting to about 600 Men, to be sent there from the Counties of Ulster and Orange or any other that may be most proper and Convenient. They may be usefully and importantly employed, as well in defence of the Highlands, in case they should be attacked, as in erecting new Works and Fortifications, by which they may be rendered more Secure. I am, etc.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir: I wrote you this Morning by your Express; but forgot to mention a Matter of Consequence. It being determined to

remove our Sick to Orange Town, we shall want four Large Albany Sloops for that Purpose; The fatigue of traveling that distance by land, would not only be more than the patients could bear, but we have full employ for our Waggons in transporting Baggagé, Tents &c. for the Troops from hence to our out Posts; I must therefore beg the favor of your honorable Body to procure the above number of Vessels and send them down with as much dispatch as possible to this City. I am etc.

P. S. I shall be glad to know by return of the Express, when I may probably expect the Sloops down, There are several now on the lower parts of the River with Boards; perhaps you might engage them to come this way, which would save time.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 8, 1776.

Parole Grayson. Countersign Tilghman.

Alexander McIntire of Capt. Newall's[36] Company, James Butler of Capt. Darby's[37] Company, and John Knowlton of Capt. Maxwell's[38] Company; all of Col Prescotts Regiment tried by a Court Martial, whereof Col Malcom was President, and acquitted of "plundering a Celler belonging to a Citizen of New York"—each ordered to be discharged and join their regiments.

Ames Reed Corporal in Capt Vancleavers[39] Company, Regiment late Col Johnson's,[40] tried by the same Court Martial, and convicted of "Speaking disrespectfully and villifying the Commander in Chief"—sentenced to receive Thirty-nine Lashes,

[36] Capt. Jonathan Newell.
[37] Capt. Samuel Darby.
[38] Capt. Hugh Maxwell, of the Seventh Continental Infantry.
[39] Capt. Benjamin Van Cleve, of the New Jersey Militia.
[40] Col. Philip Johnson, of a New Jersey Militia regiment. He was killed in the Battle of Long Island, N. Y., on August 27.

at different days successively, thirteen each day, and reduced to the ranks.

John Little of Col Knox's Regt. of Artillery, Capt. Hamilton's Company, convicted by the same Court Martial of "Abusing Adjt. Henly, and striking him"—ordered to receive Thirty-nine lashes in the same manner.

The General approves the above sentences and orders them to be put in execution at the usual time and place.

The General directs, that in future, in case of any Soldier detected in plundering, the Brigadier General, or Colonel, or commanding Officer of the Regiment immediately call a Court Martial, and have the offenders tried and punished without delay.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 9, 1776.

Parole Mifflin. Countersign Putnam.

Elias Matthew appointed Quarter Master to Tyler's regiment.

Gardiner Carpenter appointed Pay Master to Colonel Huntington's regiment.

The Colonels, or commanding officers of regiments, or Pay Masters where appointed, are immediately to prepare and send in, their Pay-Abstracts, for the Months of July and August—The Pay-Master will attend at his old Office at Mr. Lispenard's on Thursday and Friday to receive those of the division under General Putnam. A time and place will be appointed in General Orders to morrow to receive those of Genl. Heath's and Spencer's divisions.

Mr. Adjutant Bradford, to do the duty of Brigade Major to Genl. Nixons Brigade, during Major Box's illness.

The Maryland Brigade being ordered to march, Genl. Fellows's to supply 250 Men in their stead, 'till further Orders.

The several Brigade Majors are required to have their men, on the Grand parade, at eight O'Clock, every Monday precisely, or they will be publickly reprimanded. The late relief of the Guards is a Subject of general Complaint—No failure of duty in the Adjutant will execuse, unless the Adjutant is put in Arrest.

To RICHARD, LORD HOWE

Head Quarters, New York, September 9, 1776.

My Lord: I do myself the Honor of transmitting to your Lordship the inclosed Letter, recommended to my care by Doctor Franklin and which just now came to Hand.[41]

If your Lordship shall incline to return an Answer to Dr. Franklin, and will Honor me with the charge of it, I will immediately forward it to him by Express. I am, etc.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, New York, September 9, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor of your favor of the 5th Instant, and am sorry to say that, from the best information we have been able to obtain, the people on Long Island have, since our evacuation, gone generally over to the Enemy, and made such Concessions as have been required—some through compulsion I suppose, but more from Inclination. As a diversion upon the Island has been impracticable under these circumstances, I think you have done well in assisting the removal of the persons and Effects of our Friends from thence.

I observe, with great pleasure, that you have ordered the remaining Regiments of Militia that can be spared from the immediate defence of the Sea Coast, to march towards New

[41] Benjamin Franklin's letter of September 8 in answer to Howe's of August 16 informing his Lordship that the committee of Congress of which he (Franklin) was a member would soon be at Amboy, N. J., as a result of Howe's message through General Sullivan.

York with all expedition. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks, not only for your constant ready compliance with every request of mine, but for your own strenuous exertions and prudent forecast in ordering matters so, that your force has generally been collected and put in motion as soon as It has been demanded.

With respect to the Militia, both Horse and Foot, I am of opinion that they will render us more service by rendezvousing at different places along the Sound, in Westchester County and thereabouts, than by coming directly to this City. It will not only give the Enemy, who are extending their Encampment up the Island, an Idea of our Force along the Coast, but If they should attempt a landing above King's Bridge, they will be in readiness to Join our force about that place. The Horse particularly, whose rapid motion enables them to be in a short time at any point of Attack. Besides, the difficulty of procuring forage upon this Island for any number of Horses, is an objection to their being stationed here. I fear the Militia, by leaving their Homes so suddenly, and in a manner unprepared for a long absence, have sustained some Injury. To this cause I must impute, in a great measure, their impatience to return, and the diminution of their number at this time to about 2000. Their want of discipline, the Indulgences they claim and have been allowed, their unwillingness, I may add refusal, to submit to that regularity and order essential in every Army, Infecting the rest of our Troops more or less, have been of pernicious tendency, and occasioned a good deal of confusion and disorder. But, Sir, these things are not peculiar to those from any one State; they are common to all Militia, and what must be generally expected: For men who have been free, and never subject to restraint or any kind of control, cannot be taught the necessity, or be brought to see the expediency, of strict discipline in a day.

I highly approve of your plan and proposition for raising such a naval force as will be sufficient to clear the Sound of the Enemy's Ships of War. If Admiral Hopkins will Join you, I should suppose It not only practicable, but a matter of certainty; and If It can be effected, many valuable and salutary consequences must result from It. As to draufting seamen from the Continental Regiments, It cannot be done, as their Numbers have been reduced so low already by taking men from them for the Gallies, Boats, and other purposes, that some of them have hardly any thing left but the name; besides, I must depend chiefly upon them for a successful opposition to the Enemy. If It can be done out of the Militia, I shall not have the least objection, and heartily wish the Enterprise, whenever attempted, may be attended with all possible success. Secrecy and dispatch will be the most likely to give It a happy Issue. The Enemy's Ships can receive no reinforcements but such as go round Long Island. Our Works at Hell Gate preventing their sending Ships that way, they are sensible of their importance, and yesterday opened Two Three-Gun Batteries to effect their destruction, but as yet have not materially damaged them; and they must be maintained If possible. I have, &c.

P. S. The nearer the Militia and Horse keep on the Sound towards King's Bridge, the better, as they will be ready to oppose any Landing of the Enemy, and also to receive orders for reinforcing any posts on this side, in case of necessity.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 10, 1776.

Parole Marblehead. Countersign Orange.

Major Popst of Col Kackleins[42] Battalion having been tried by a Court Martial whereof Col Silliman was President on a

[42] Lieut. Col. Peter Kechlein (Kachlein), of the Northampton (Pa.) militia, and Maj. Michael Probst, of the same.

charge of "Cowardice and shamefully abandoning his post on Long-Island the 28th. of August"; is acquitted of Cowardice but convicted of Misbehaviour in the other instance—he is therefore sentenced to be dismissed the Army as totally unqualified to hold a Military Commission. Adjutant Spangenburg and Lieut. Kacklein[43] tried for the same Offence were acquitted. The General approves the sentence as to Spangenburg and Kacklein, and orders them to join their regiment: But as there is reason to believe farther Evidence can soon be obtained with respect to the Major—he is to continue under Arrest 'till they can attend.

The Brigade Major of the day, to carry the Parole and Countersign, to the several Guards, as formerly; taking care that it be done early.

The Brigade Majors are directed to have the several Regiments join in Brigade as often as possible, and to be very careful that they are thoroughly acquainted with their Alarm-Posts and the Lines they are to mann.

The General observes with great concern, that too little care is taken, to prevent the men straggling from their quarters, and encampments, so that in case of a sudden Attack, it will be difficult to collect them; he therefore most anxiously desires, both Officers and Men, would attend to it, and consider, how much their safety, and success depends upon their being at hand, when wanted—The order for calling the Roll three times a day, is to be punctually obeyed, and any officer omitting it, will be brought to a Court-Martial.

Great Complaints are made of the Adjutants, as being irregular and remiss in duty—The General informs them, that he expects an alacrity and dispatch of business, equal to the importance of their situation, and will certainly make some examples,

[43] Lieut. Peter Kechlein, jr., and Adjt. John Spangenberg, of the Northampton (Pa.) militia.

if (which he sincerely hopes may not be the case) there should be any farther reason for complaint.

The Court Martial to sit to morrow, for the trial of Capt. Rapaljee,[44] confined by Col Lasher, for refusing to do duty.

Major Scammell[45] is appointed a temporary Assistant, to the Adjutant General, and is to repair to Genl. Heath's division—He is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 11, 1776.

Parole Ulster. Countersign Albany.

Robt. Williams of Col Glovers Regiment is appointed Pay Master to said regiment.

William Arnold and Samuel Clark of Capt Smith's[46] Company, Col Smallwood's Regiment—Daniel Donovel of Capt. Hardenberg's[47] Company, tried by a Court Martial whereof Col Malcom was President, on a charge of "Plundering the House lately occupied by Lord Stirling"—Donovel was convicted of the crime and sentenced to receive Thirty-nine Lashes—the others acquitted—The General approves the sentence, orders the latter to join their regiments and Donovel to be whipp'd to morrow, on the Grand parade, before the Guards march off—The Provost Marshal to see it executed, Col Ritzema's Regt. being removed.

Peter Richards, Serjeant in the General's Guard convicted by the same Court Martial of "Abusing and striking Capt

[44] Capt. Jacques Repalje, of Lasher's New York regiment.

[45] Maj. Alexander Scammell. He, later, became Adjutant General of the Continental Army. Was killed at Yorktown, Va.

[46] Capt. Samuel Smith. He was promoted to major, Fourth Maryland Regiment, Dec. 10, 1776; lieutenant colonel, Feb. 22, 1777; wounded at Fort Mifflin, Delaware River, Oct. 22, 1777; presented with a sword by Congress, Nov. 4, 1777, for his gallant defense at that fort; resigned in May, 1779. He was a major general of Maryland Militia in the War of 1812.

[47] Capt. Cornelius Hardenbergh, of the Third New York Regiment. He was cashiered Oct. 8, 1776.

Gibbs,"[48] sentenced to be reduced to the ranks, and whipped Thirty-nine Lashes. The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed, to morrow morning, at the head of the company at eight o'Clock.

Col Palfrey Pay Master will receive the Pay-Abstracts agreeable to yesterday's Orders of Genl Spencer's Division, at General McDougall's quarters, near Harlem on Saturday and Sunday—Of General Heath's division at his Head-Quarters at any time.

The commanding Officers of Col Silliman's, Col Lewis, Col Mead's and Col Thompson's Regts.[49] to examine the state of the Ammunition of their regiments, it being reported that their men on Guard last night were deficient.

John Christy of Col Humphrey's[50] Regt. convicted by a Court Martial whereof Col Malcom was President of "Desertion"—ordered to receive Thirty-nine lashes—The General approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed, to morrow, at the usual time and place.

Such regiments whose Pay-Masters have not been named in General Orders, are by their Field Officers, immediately to recommend suitable persons, to the General, for that office—Every Recommendation is to be signed by the Field Officers of the regiments who are present.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH MERCER

New York, September 11, 1776.

Sir: I have received your favour by Colo. Weedon.[51] As it seems every day more probable that the posts at Kingsbridge

[48] Capt. Caleb Gibbs. Later, he was major, and commandant of the Commander in Chief's Guard; transferred to the Second Massachusetts Regiment; wounded at Yorktown, Va.; brevet lieutenant colonel at close of war.

[49] Silliman's Connecticut State regiment; Col. Robert Lewis's Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp; Col. John Mead's Connecticut Militia regiment; and Col. William Thompson's Pennsylvania rifle regiment.

[50] Col. William Humphrey, of the Dutchess County (N. Y.) militia.

[51] Col. George Weedon, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He was Acting Adjutant General of the Continental Army Feb. 20, 1777; brigadier general, Continental Army, Feb. 27, 1777; resigned June 11, 1783.

will be Occupied by this Army and the principal defence made there, I have Ordered Colo. Bradlys[52] Regiment to move from Bergen. As that post does not seem to be an object of the Enemys Attention, I am in doubt whether it is Necessary for you to replace this Regiment or leave it to the remaining Troops, as you best know what Number there are from your Camp at that post, I must leave it to you to direct a further supply or not, as under all Circumstances you think best and Necessary. We find a moving Camp will require a greater Number of Waggons than was expected. If Mr. Biddle[53] could engage about 50 of the common Country Waggons, or in proportion, of the Philadelphia Teams, to go up to Burdetts ferry, it would greatly releive us; The Idea of impressing is very disagreeable and only to be adopted in case of the most urgent Necessity. The Enemy is taking Posts on the Islands about Hellgate, so as to make a landing with the greater ease and Convenience. We are endeavouring to give them a suitable Reception, and hope they will not be able to execute their Scheme. I am &c.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 11, 1776.

Sir: I was yesterday honored with your favor of the 8th. instant, accompanied with sundry Resolutions of Congress, to which I shall pay the strictest attention, and in the Instances required make them the future Rule of my Conduct.

The mode of Negociation pursued by Lord Howe, I did not approve of; But as General Sullivan was sent out upon the Business and with a Message to Congress, I could not conceive

[52] Col. Philip Burr Bradley's Connecticut State regiment.

[53] Lieut. Col. Clement Biddle, deputy quartermaster general of the Flying Camp. He was Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army from July, 1777, to June, 1780; colonel and quartermaster general of Pennsylvania from September, 1781, to close of the war.

myself at Liberty to interfere in the matter, as he was in the Character of a Prisoner and totally subject to their power and direction. The list of Prisoners (before omitted thro' hurry) is now inclosed tho' it will probably have reached Congress before this. I shall write by the first Opportunity for Major Hawsaikse[54] to repair to Philadelphia, he is in the Northern Army and will also mention the several Appointments in consequence of Colonel Sinclair's promotion.[55]

As soon as Generals Prescott and McDonald arrive, I shall take measures to advise General Howe of it, that the proposed exchange for General Sullivan and Lord Stirling may be carried into execution.

Since my Letter of the 8th. nothing material has occurr'd, except that the Enemy has possessed themselves of Montresor's Island, and landed a considerable Number of Troops upon it; this Island lies in the Mouth of Harlem River, which runs out of the Sound into the North River and will give the Enemy an easy opportunity of landing either on the low grounds of Morrisania; if their views are to seize and possess the passes above Kingsbridge, or on the Plains of Harlem, If they design to intercept and cut of the communication between our several Posts. I am making every disposition and arrangement that the divided State of our Troops will admit of, and which appear most likely and the best calculated to oppose their Attacks, for I presume there will be several. How the event will be God only knows; but you may be assured that nothing in my Power, circumstanced as I am, shall be wanting to effect a favorable and happy Issue.

[54] Col. Nicholas Hausseger, of the Pennsylvania German Battalion. He had been major of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment; was taken prisoner at Princeton, N. J., Jan. 17, 1777, and joined the British.

[55] Arthur St. Clair, colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion. He had been promoted to brigadier general, Continental Army, Aug. 9, 1776; was again promoted to major general Feb. 19, 1777; served to close of the war.

By my Letter of the 8th. you will preceive, that several of the Council were for holding the Town, conceiving it practicable for some time. Many of them now, upon seeing our divided state, have altered their oppinion, and allow the expediency and necessity of concentering our whole force, or drawing it more together.[56] Convinced of the propriety of this Measure, I am ordering our Stores away, except such as may be absolutely necessary to keep, as long as any Troops remain, that if an Evacuation of the City becomes Inevitable, and which certainly must be the case, there may be as little to remove as possible.

The inclosed Packet contains several Letters for particular Members of Congress and for some Gentlemen in Philadelphia; they came to hand Yesterday and were brought from France by a Captain Leviz, lately arrived at Bedford in the Massachusetts State; I must request the favor of you to open the packet and to have the Letters put in a proper Channel of Conveyance to the Gentlemen they are addressed to. I have &c.[57]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters, New York, September 12, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 7th. instant upon the Subject of Tents for this Army. That you might receive proper information of the number wanted, I directed the Quarter Master General to return you an estimate, whose Office it is to provide them. His report you will find in the inclosed Letter to which I beg leave to refer you, and requesting that the greatest Dispatch may be used in having them made and forwarded. I have the Honor etc.

[56] On September 11 Gens. Nathanael Greene, Thomas Mifflin, John Nixon. Rezin Beall, Samuel Holden Parsons, James Wadsworth, and John Morin Scott addressed a petition to Washington to convene a council of war to reconsider the previous decision (September 7) to hold New York City. The council was held September 12 at General McDougall's quarters. The petition, in Mifflin's writing, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[57] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, New York, September 12, 1776.

Dear Sir: I Yesterday evening received your favour of the 8th Instant, with its inclosures.

You were right, in supposing me unable to comply with General Gates's request; I am by no means provided to Supply so large a demand and am glad you transmitted his Application immediately to Congress.

The papers you inclosed, but too strongly indicate the hostile intentions of the Indians; however, I trust if they should attempt an incursion upon the frontiers, that the force you will be able to oppose to 'em, will be sufficient to repel their Attacks and prevent their doing much mischief.

I have delivered the returns of Boards and Plank, to the Quarter Master General, who will examine them and pay whatever is due, as soon as proper Accounts are rendered him. As we shall have occasion for a great Quantity, I must request your Assistance in furnishing every supply in your power. Neither Timber or Boats will be wanted. I am exceedingly hurried by a Variety of Business now before me, and shall only add that I am etc.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters, New York, September 12, 1776.

Sir: I have before me your two Letters of the 8th. and 10th. Instt. the first inclosing Returns of the Number of Men and Ordnance and Artillery Stores at Forts Montgomery and Constitution; the last, Copies of two Letters from the Convention of the State of New York, by which it appears, they had ordered in 600 Militia, as a Reinforcement to the two posts and which I hope will prove Sufficient to put them in a proper State of defence.

I ordered Colo. Knox to provide and forward the different Articles wanted by you in the Ordnance department, but he informed me, that from the present unsettled State of our Magazine and Laboratory (many of our Stores being removed and on their way to Kingsbridge and Mount Washington) he could not comply at once with the whole of the demand, but would send what he could conveniently collect. The Convention of New York, having appointed Mr. Schenk to provide what Articles they found wanting at their late Review of your Works and Stores, and which include many of the Articles you wrote for, I hope, as he will make it his Business, that he will collect many Articles which Colo. Knox, from the present hurry of our Affairs, cannot attend to. And if they should both provide the same things, your Stores will only be fuller. I have again ordered the Quarter Master General to send up the Nails with all possible Expedition. The Convention having ordered an Armourer with proper Tools to be fixed at your two posts, I hope what Arms are at present out of repair, will be soon made fit for Use. We must make every Shift with our old Arms, till we can get better Supplied. I am &c.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, New York, September 12, 1776.

Sir: I yesterday received the favor of your Letter of the 9th. with its several inclosures, and am extremely happy that your Honble. Body had anticipated my recommendation, by resolving on an augmentation of Six hundred Men to the Garrisons in the Highlands; The Importance of those Posts demands the utmost attention and every exertion to maintain them.

The Vessels for the removal of the Sick are not yet arrived; Their present Situation gives me great anxiety, as the Wind is

now favorable, I would fain hope that a Sufficient number will come down to day, to take in the whole; If they do not, my distress will be much increased.

Genl Clinton in a Letter of the 8th., transmitted me a list of Artillery and Ordnance Stores wanted at Forts Montgomery and Constitution, which included the Several Articles you have determined to procure, except those mentioned below. I directed that they should be sent up, but as the Situation of our affairs at this time, may not perhaps admit of it; I think it will be prudent for Mr. Schenck[58] whom you have appointed an Agent in this Instance, to get all he can. Should he be able to obtain the Supply you have voted to be necessary, and Genl Clinton's demand be Complied with also, no damage will be done, Our Stores will not be too large. I have the Honor to be etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 12, 1776.

Parole Franklin. Countersign Congress.

The difficulty of procuring Milk, and other proper Food for the sick, has induced the General to establish an Hospital, where those Necessaries can be procured in plenty—The Regimental Sick are therefore to be immediately mustered for this purpose—One of the Hospital Surgeons will attend with the Regimental Surgeon—such as are able to remove themselves will be allowed so to do, under the care of a proper officer—A suitable officer, not under the Rank of a Captain, is to be appointed by the Brigadier, out of each Brigade, to attend such sick of each Brigade, as cannot remove themselves; they are, under the Advice of the Surgeon, who also attends, to see that

[58] John Schenck, jr., of Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

all proper care is taken for their comfort, while removing, and afterwards.

The same Court Martial which tried Major Popst to try Major Hetfield,[59] charged with "Making a false Report of the Guards"—

As the care of the sick is an object of great Importance, The General directs, that a person, not under the Rank of a Captain, be also appointed in like manner, in each Brigade, who shall be empowered to procure Necessaries for them, and Monies furnished for that purpose; he taking care that the utmost regularity and Care be used.

John Porter Esqr. is appointed Paymaster to Col Ward's Regiment, in the Continental service.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 13, 1776.

Parole Newark. Countersign Amboy.

Serjeant Clements, late of the General's Guard, convicted by a Court Martial whereof Col Malcom was Presdt., of "Remissness of duty"—is ordered to be reduced to the ranks. The General approves the sentence and orders that he be sent back to the regiment from which he was taken.

The visiting officer has again reported that the men from Col Silliman's, Col Lewis's, and Col Thompson's Regiments, go upon guard, deficient in Ammunition and with bad Arms—The General hopes the officers of those Regiments will immediately attend to it.

Simon Learned, late Lieutenant in Learned's Regiment, having resigned his Commission as Lieutenant, is appointed Paymaster to said regiment.

[59] Maj. Moses Hatfield, of Drake's New York Militia regiment. He was captured at Montresors Island, N. Y., Sept. 24, 1776; exchanged in 1778; colonel of New York Militia, 1780–81.

Genl. Fellow's Brigade to remove into the adjoining Out Houses, and raft the boards which compose their present Encampment, to Kingsbridge, or such part of them, as may be deemed necessary by him.

A disappointment with respect to a proper place for the removal of the sick, in some measure vacates the Order of Yesterday, and the following is now to be attended to, and obeyed—The situation of the Army rendering it difficult to make that provision for the relief and support of the sick in the City of New-York which their cases may require—In Order the most speedy and effectual manner to remove the Sick to some place where they can be supplied with every thing necessary for them, the General directs the Surgeons of each Brigade, under the immediate Inspection of the Brigadiers, to examine the state of the sick, and to make a list of the names of such as they suppose can remove themselves to the Brigadier General of the Brigade, who is desired to send such Convalescent persons to some convenient place in the Neighbourhood of New-York, to be chosen by, and be under the care of, a discreet Officer, and one of the Regimental Surgeons, who is, in the most prudent manner, to make the necessary provision for the reception and support of such Convalescent Persons, who are immediately to be returned to their Regiments when their health will admit of their doing duty. Such as are so ill as not to be able to remove themselves, are to be collected under the care of another officer of the like Rank, in one place and notice given to the Director General of the Hospital, that they may be taken proper care of. In each of the above cases, the superintending officer is permitted to lay out money, in the most frugal manner, for the comfortable Subsistence of his sick, which will be allowed him on rendering his account.

Mr Hendrick Fisher is appointed Paymaster to Col Prescott's regiment.

Charles Hobby Hubbard Esqr. to Col Serjeant's Regt. until the person arrives who is designed for that office.

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

New York, September 13, 1776.

Dr. Sir: Before this Letter can reach you, the Brigade under Colo. Chester's Command no doubt has reached you, but unless more assistance of Waggons and Teams are sent I cannot under take to say when you will get a further reinforcement; let me entreat therefore that Genl. Clinton[60] and yourself will exert yourselves in getting, by Impressment, or otherwise, a parcel of Teams to come to our Assistance.

The Brigades which I mean to send to you are these following, and which I mention, that your disposition of them may be thought of in time, taking into consideration that Sheas, Magaws and Haslets, will return to their former Station at Mt. Washington under the immediate Comd. of their old Brigadier, Mifflin, but in lieu of these Regiments, it is possible when we get removed from hence you may get an equivalt. number.

	officers	R and File fit for duty
Parsons's	400	1221
Scott	284	963
Wadsworth	334	1195
Fellows	272	1122
Silliman	367	677
Douglas's	347	744
Chester	513	1178
Total	2517	7100
		2517
		9617

[60] Brig. Gen. George Clinton.

I must also beg that you will have the Vessels that go up with Stores &ca. immediately dispatch'd back to this place; you cannot conceive how we are put to it for conveniences to transport the Sick, the Stores, the Baggage &ca. In short we are hazarding every thing in a confused way. Let there be the most vigilant lookout kept; you know I suppose that four more Ships two of them 40 odd Guns are gone up the East River. I am, etc.

[MS. H. S.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New York, September 14, 1776.

Sir: I have been duly honored with your favor of the 10th. with the Resolution of Congress which accompanied it, and thank them for the confidence they repose in my Judgment, respecting the evacuation of the City. I could wish to maintain it, Because It is known to be of importance, But I am fully convinced that it cannot be done, and that an attempt for that purpose, if persevered in, might and most certainly would be attended with consequences the most fatal and alarming in their nature.

Sensible of this, several of the General Officers since the determination of the Council mentioned in my last, petitioned that a second Council might be called to reconsider the propositions which had been before them upon the Subject. Accordingly I called one on the 12th.; when a large Majority not only determined a removal of the Army, prudent but absolutely necessary, declaring, they were entirely convinced from a full and minute inquiry into our situation, that it was extremely perilous and from every movement of the Enemy and the Intelligence received, their plan of Operations was to get in our Rear, and by cutting of the Communication with the Main, Oblige us to force a passage thro' them, on the Terms they

wish, or to become prisoners in some short time for want of necessary Supplies of Provisions.[61] We are now taking every Method in our Power to remove the Stores &ca. in which we find almost insuperable difficulties; They are so great and so numerous, that I fear we shall not effect the whole before we meet with some Interruption. I fully expected that an Attack some where, would have been made last night.

In that I was disappointed and happy shall I be, If my apprehension of one to Night or in a day or two, are not confirmed by the event. If it is deferred a while longer, I flatter myself all will be got away and our Force be more concentred and of course more likely to resist them with success.

Yesterday Afternoon Four Ships of War two of 40 and 2 of 28 Guns, went up the East River, passing between Governor's and Long Island and Anchored about a Mile above the City opposite Mr. Stivansents and where the Rose Man of War was laying before. The design of their going not being certainly known, gives rise to various conjectures; some supposing they are to cover the Landing of a part of the Enemy above the City: others that they are to assist in destroying our Battery on Horn's Hook, that they may have a free and uninterrupted navigation in the Sound. It is an object of great Importance to them, and what they are industriously trying to effect, by a pretty constant Cannonade and Bombardment.

Before I conclude, I would beg leave to mention to Congress, that the pay now allowed to nurses for their attendance on the

[61] The council was attended by the Commander in Chief, four major and eight brigadier generals. A question as to the post to be taken by the Army at or near Kings Bridge, in event of the evacuation of New York City, was debated, but the record of this is crossed out. Joseph Reed's record of the proceedings shows that it was decided by a vote of 10 to 3 to reconsider the decision (September 7) not to evacuate New York, but notes no action beyond this point other than that 8,000 men should be left to defend Mount Washington. The three dissenters in the vote to reconsider the decision to evacuate New York were Joseph Spencer, George Clinton, and William Heath. Ford notes that McDougall (Jan. 7, 1782) wrote that none were opposed to retreating from New York "but a *fool, a knave* and an *obstinate, honest man.*" The record of this council of war (held September 12), in Joseph Reed's writing, is in the *Washington Papers.*

Sick, is by no means adequate to their services. The consequences of which is, that they are extremely difficult to procure, indeed they are not to be got, and we are under the necessity of substituting in their places, a Number of Men from the respective Regiments, whose service by that means is entirely lost in the proper line of their duty and but little benefit rendered to the Sick. The Officers I have talked with upon the Subject, all agree that they should be allowed a Dollar pr. Week and that for less they cannot be had.

Our Sick are extremely numerous and we find their removal attended with the greatest difficulty: It is a Matter that employs much of our time and care, and what makes it more distressing, is the want of proper and convenient places for their reception;—I fear their sufferings will be great and many, However nothing on my part that Humanity or policy can require shall be wanting to make them comfortable, so far as the State of things will admit of. I have &ca.[62]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New York, September 14, 1776.

Parole Bristol. Countersign Roxbury.

The Court of Inquiry on Major Hatfield, not having been able to proceed he is released from his arrest, until they can attend.

The General is exceedingly anxious that every Soldier should be well provided with Ammunition, and desires, that every officer will be careful to see there is no deficiency in this respect, as it is highly probable they may soon be called to Action.

It is so critical a period, and so interesting to every true lover of his Country, that the General hopes that every officer and Soldier will now exert himself to the utmost—it is no time for ease or indulgence—the Arms of the men, the Condition of the

[62] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

sick, care to prevent Imposition in order to avoid danger and duty—Vigilance of Sentries and Guards, are all now requisite—We have once found the bad consequences of a surprize; let the utmost Care be used to prevent another—for this purpose, the General directs that none be put out as Sentries at night but pick'd men; that they be visited every half hour, and every motion of the enemy narrowly watched.

General Wadsworth's Brigade to furnish two Sentries upon the road, to prevent Waggons, in the public Service, going out empty, or carrying sick.

Benjamin Haywood, late Lieutenant in the 4th Regiment, is appointed Paymaster to said regiment.

Capt Brown is excused from duty, on account of his assisting the Quarter-Master General.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776.

Parole Bell. Countersign Maryland.

The Arrangement for this night.

Genl. Clinton to form next to the North River, and extend to the left—Genl. Scott's Brigade next to Genl. Clinton's—Lt. Col Sayer[63] of Col Griffith's Regt. with the three Companies intended for a reinforcement to day, to form upon the left of Scott's Brigade—Genl. Nixon's, Col Serjeant's division, Col Weedon's and Major Price's[64] Regts. are to retire to their quarters and refresh themselves, but to hold themselves in readiness to turn out a minute's warning—Genl McDougall to establish proper guards against his Brigade upon the height, and every Regiment posted upon the Heights, from Morris's house to

[63] Lieut. Col. Henry Shryock(?), of the First Maryland Battalion of the Flying Camp.
[64] Maj. Thomas Price(?), of Smallwood's Maryland regiment(?).

Genl McDougall's Camp, to furnish proper Guards to prevent a Surprise; Not less than twenty men from each regiment—Genl Putnam commands upon the Right-flank to night—Genl Spencer from McDougall's Brigade up to Morris's house—Should the Enemy attempt to force the pass to night, Genl. Putnam is to apply to Genl Spencer for a reinforcement.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, at Col. Roger Morris's House,[65]
September 16, 1776.

Sir: On Saturday about Sun set six more of the Enemy's Ships, (one or two of which were Men of War) passed between Governor's Island and Red Hook and went up the East River to the Station taken by those mentioned in my last. In half an Hour after, I received two Expresses, one from Colonel Serjeant at Horn's Hook (Hell Gate) giving an Account that the Enemy, to the amount of three or four Thousand, had marched to the River and were embarking for Barns's or Montresor's Island where Numbers of them then Incamped: The other from General Mifflin, that uncommon and formidable Movements were discovered among the Enemy, which being confirmed by the Scouts I had sent out, I proceeded to Harlem, where it was supposed, or at Morrisania, the principal attempt to land would be made: However nothing remarkable happened that Night. But in the Morning they began their operations. Three Ships of War came up the North River, as high as Bloomingdale, which put a total Stop to the removal by Water

[65] Colonel Morris's house, now known as the Jumel Mansion, was built by Morris when he married Mary, the daughter of Frederick Philipse, of Philipse Manor, which comprised a large part of Westchester, Dutchess, and Putnam Counties, N. Y. Washington had visited the Philipses on his journey to Boston in 1756. The house is on high and commanding ground, called Washington Heights, in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, N. Y.

of any more of our Provision &ca. and about Eleven O'Clock those in the East River began a most severe and heavy Cannonade to scour the Grounds and cover the landing of their Troops between Turtle Bay and the City, where Breast Works had been thrown up to oppose them; as soon as I heard the firing, I road with all possible dispatch towards the place of landing, when to my great surprize and mortification, I found the Troops that had been posted in the Lines, retreating with the utmost precipitation, and those ordered to support them, Parsons's and Fellows's Brigades, flying in every direction and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their Generals to form them. I used every means in my power, to rally and get them into some order, but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual and on the appearance of a small party of the Enemy, not more than Sixty or Seventy in Number, their disorder increased and they ran away in the greatest confusion without firing a single Shot. Finding that no confidence was to be placed in these Brigades and apprehending that another part of the Enemy might pass over to Harlem plains and cut of the retreat to this place, I sent orders to secure the Heights in the best manner with the Troops that were stationed on and near them, which being done; the retreat was effected with but little or no loss of Men, tho' of a considerable part of our Baggage occasioned by this disgraceful and dastardly conduct.[66] Most of

[66] Ford quotes a "Letter from New York," Sept. 27, 1776, printed in the *London Chronicle* (Nov. 19, 1776): "I forgot to mention that Mr. Washington shortly after the landing on New York island, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. He left Mr. Apthorpe's house, at Bloomingdale, a few minutes only before the British light infantry entered it." Spark's quotes a letter from General Greene (September 17): "Fellows's and Parsons's brigades ran away from about fifty men and left his Excellency on the ground within eighty Yards of the Enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of the troops, that he sought death rather than life." The Rev. William Gordon, whose history of the Revolution must always be read with recollection that the author's enthusiasm for America had cooled before he published his work, recounts the episode as he is supposed to have gleaned it from first hand in the camp shortly after the retreat. Col. William Smallwood states that Washington caned and whipped the fleeing men, though he does not state with what. Howe reported to Germain

our Heavy cannon and a part of our Stores and Provisions, which we were about removing, was unavoidably left in the City, tho' every means, after it had been determined in Council to evacuate the post, had been used to prevent it. We are now Encamped with the Main body of the Army on the Heights of Harlem, where I should hope the Enemy would meet with a defeat in case of an Attack, If the generality of our Troops would behave with tolerable resolution, But, experience, to my extreme affliction, has convinced me that this is rather to be wished for than expected. However I trust that there are many who will act like men and shew themselves worthy of the blessings of Freedom.

I have sent out some reconoitring parties to gain Intelligence if possible, of the disposition of the Enemy and shall inform Congress of every material event by the earliest Opportunity. I have &ca.[67]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Col. Morris's, September 17, 1776.

Sir: Some advices lately received from Powle's hook,[68] has made it necessary that Col. William's[69] regiment, should march to that post as a reinforcement to Col. Durkie; it will be proper therefore they should be immedy. put in motion towards Mount Washington, where they are to cross. Yours, etc.[70] [MS. H. S.]

(September 21) merely that the landing at Kips Bay was unexpected to the Americans and that the British cannonade was so severe that the descent was made without the least opposition. He made no mention of Washington. After making due allowance for the excited recollections on the American side, colored by the chagrin for the panic, the bald fact seems to be that Washington continued his efforts to check the retreat until the British were so close as to put him in grave jeopardy of death or capture.

[67] The following note was signed by Robert Hanson Harrison: "Sir, The above Letter is nearly a copy of a rough one sketched out by his Excellency this morning, and who intended to sign it; but having rode out and his return or where to find him uncertain, I have sent it away without and have the honor, &c."

[68] Now Jersey City, N. J.

[69] Col. John(?) Williams, of the New York Militia.

[70] In the writing of William Grayson.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Colo. Morris's House,
September 17, 1776.

Sir: I recd. the honor of your favor of the 6th. Inst., by Messrs. Collins, Babcok, and Stanton,[71] and should have acknowledged it before now, had I not been prevented by the peculiar Situation of our Affairs.

I communicated my Sentiments to those Gentlemen, upon the Subject of your Letter and the several propositions that were before us; who, I doubt not, will make a full and due Report of the same to you and your Honble. Assembly: however, I shall take the liberty of adding, that the divided State of our Army, which, when collected in one body, is inferior to that of the Enemy—their having landed almost the whole of their force on Long Island, and formed a plan for cutting off all Communication between that and the City of New York, which we had but too good reason to believe practicable and easy to Effect with their Ships of War, made it necessary and prudent to withdraw our Troops from the former, that our chance of resistance and opposition might be more probable and likely to be attended with a happy Issue.

I feel myself much concerned on Account of your Apprehensions for the Town of New Port and the Island of Rhode Island; and should esteem myself peculiarly happy, were it in my Power to afford means for their Security and that of the State in General, or to point out such Measures as would be effectual for that Purpose. But, Circumstanced as I am, it is not Possible for me to grant any Assistance; nor can I, with propriety, undertake to prescribe the mode, which will best

[71] John Collins, Joshua Babcock, and Joseph Stanton, a committee of the Rhode Island Assembly appointed to confer with Washington.

promote their defence. This must depend on such a Variety of Circumstances, that I shou'd suppose you and the Assembly, who are in the State, will be much more Competent to the task; than what I, or any person out of it, can be; and, therefore, I can only recommend, that you will pursue such Steps as you, in your Judgment, shall think most conducive to that end; observing that it appears to me a Matter of extreme difficulty (if Practicable), to prevent the Enemy's Ships doing damage to every Island accessible to them, unless the passes, between them and the Main, are so Narrow, as to oblige them to come very near such Batteries, as may be erected for their Annoyance, on commanding Ground.

I cannot sufficiently express my thanks, for the readiness you and your Assembly manifested in ordering Troops &c. to Long Island, on hearing of my request to Govr. Trumbull upon that Subject. At the time that I made it, I conceived the plan of much Importance, and that many Valuable and Salutary Consequences might have resulted from it; but as things have undergone a Material Change since, it may not be improper to consider and be Satisfied of some facts, which ought to be clearly known, previous to any Attempt to carry it into Execution and on which the Success of it will greatly depend: Such, as an intire Conviction of the friendly disposition of the Inhabitants of the Island; the Number that would join the Troops that might be sent over; The lengths they would go; The Support they would and can give and whether a retreat from thence could be safely effected in case it should be necessary. These Matters and others which a more Minute Consideration of the Plan, will present to your View, should be well weighed and digested and which I thought it my duty to mention, especially as the scheme had originated with me. My Anxiety and Concern for the Inhabitants at the East end of Long Island,

who have been represented always as friendly and well attached to the cause of the States, prompt me to wish them every Assistance; but if the efforts you could make in conjunction with Govr. Trumbull, would not promise almost a Certainty of Success, perhaps they might tend to aggravate their Misfortunes. The Committee stated sundry propositions respecting this Expedition; such as if any thing was attempted, where a stand should be made? This must be left to the discretion of those who Command, nor can I spare an Officer for that purpose nor recommend one. what Number of Men should be sent and what proportion from the Massachusetts? The Number necessary will depend upon the force they will have to oppose and the Assistance they would derive from the Islanders. The proportion from the Massachusetts on the Will of the Legislature or Voluntary Engagement of the People, in the Service. What Artillery they should have? I am of Opinion the Artillery would be Subject to Loss without any great advantage resulting from it. They also asked whether any frigates should be sent &c.? As the Enemy have now the free and intire Command of the Sound, and many Ships of War in it, they will be much more liable to be taken, than they would have been some time ago and when it was proposed by Govr. Trumbull to make an attempt upon the Ships above Hell Gate; In this Instance however I do not conceive myself at liberty to say any thing peremptory one way or other, having no power over the Frigates.

I am sensible of the force of your Observation, that the Common Cause might be benefited by the several States receiving early and Authentic Intelligence of every material occurrence. permit me at the same time to assure you, that I often regret my Incapacity in this Instance and that the neglect does not arise from want of Inclination or thro' Inattention; but from the

variety of important Matters, that are always pressing upon and which daily surround me. Before I conclude, I shall take this Opportunity to inform you, that having received certain Information that the Enemy's plan was to pass from Long Island and land in our rear with their Army; to cut off all Communication with the Country and for which they were making every possible disposition; a Council of General Officers determined last Week, on a Removal of the Army from the City, in order to prevent the fatal Consequences which must inevitably ensue, if they could have executed their Scheme: resolving at the same time, that every appearance of defence should be kept up, till our Sick, Ordnance and Stores could be removed. This was set about with the greatest Industry and as to the Sick was compleatly effected, but on Sunday Morning before we had accomplished the removal of all our Cannon, Provision and Baggage * * *.[72] This Scandalous Conduct occasioned a loss of several Tents and other Baggage which would have been easily secured. The remainder of the Troops that were in the City got out, and the Retreat of the whole was effected with the loss of but very few Men, not more than three or four that I have heard of were made Prisoners, and only one or two killed. I am now Encamped on the Heights above mentioned which are so well Calculated for defence, that I should hope, if the Enemy make an attack and our Men will behave with tolerable Resolution, they must meet with a Repulse, if not a total defeat. They advanced in sight yesterday in several large Bodies, but attempted nothing of a General Nature; Tho' in the forenoon there were some smart Skirmishes between some of their parties and detachments sent out by me; In which I have the pleasure to inform you our Men behaved with bravery and Intrepidity, putting them to flight

[72] The omitted portion is practically a duplication of the information in Washington's letter to Congress of the panic at Kips Bay. (See Washington's letter to Congress, Sept. 16, 1776, *ante*.)

when in open Ground and forcing them from Posts they had seized, two or three times. From some of their Wounded Men which fell into our hands, the appearance of Blood in every place where they made their Stand and on the Fences as they passed, we have reason to believe they had a good many Killed and Wounded; tho' they did not leave many on the ground. In number our loss was very inconsiderable, but in the fall of Lieut. Col Knowlton,[73] I consider it as great, being a brave and good Officer, and it may be increased by the Death of Major Leitch[74] of the Virginia Regiment, who unfortunately received three Balls thro' his side. Having given you a Summary Account of the Situation of our affairs and in such Manner as Circumstances will admit of; I have only to add, that I have the honor to be &c.

P. S. The Committee have expressed their apprehensions of being obliged to abandon the Island of Rhode Island and New Port, and requested my opinion. at present I can see no Cause for it, and the propriety of the Measure must depend upon Circumstances; But I should suppose they ought to be very pressing and the Necessity great, before they ought to be given up, most certainly no imaginary Ills or Necessity should lead to such a Measure. At this time the danger can only be Ideal and if the Enemy persevere in their Plans, and our Men behave as they should do, I am persuaded they will not have an opportunity to employ their Attention else where this Campaign.

GENERAL ORDERS

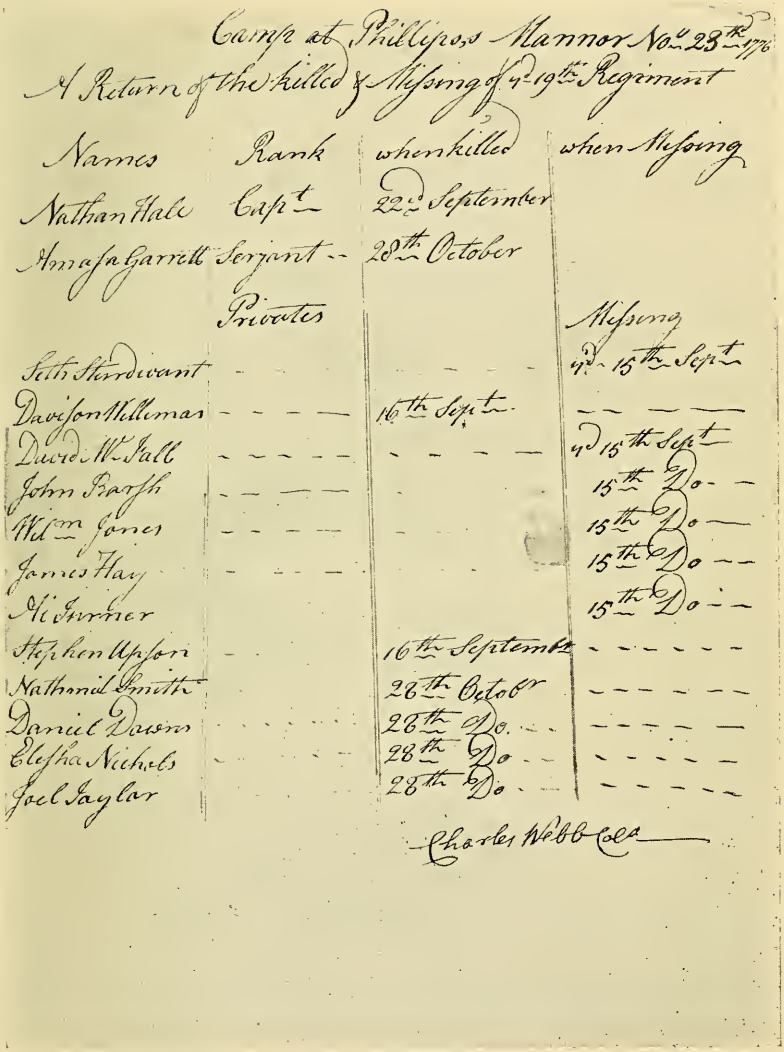
Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 17, 1776.

Parole Leitch. Countersign Virginia.

The General most heartily thanks the troops commanded Yesterday, by Major Leitch, who first advanced upon the

[73] Lieut. Col. Thomas Knowlton, of the Twentieth Continental Infantry.

[74] Maj. Andrew Leitch, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He died of his wounds Oct. 1, 1776.



Camp at Phillipses Manner Novr 28th 1776

A Return of the killed & Missing of y 19th Regiment

Names	Rank	when killed	when Missing
Nathan Hale	Capt	22d September	
Amasa Garrett	Serjant	28th October	
	Privates		Missing
Seth Sherdivant			4th 15th Sept
Davison Hillemas		16th Sept	
David M Fall			4th 15th Sept
John Parish			15th Do
Wm Jones			15th Do
James Hay			15th Do
M Turner			15th Do
Stephen Upson		16th September	
Nathaniel Smith		28th October	
Daniel Dawes		28th Do	
Elesha Nichols		28th Do	
Joel Jaylar		28th Do	

Charles Webb Col

Return of Killed and Missing in the Nineteenth Continental Infantry, November 23, 1776

enemy, and the others who so resolutely supported them—The Behaviour of Yesterday was such a Contrast, to that of some Troops the day before, as must shew what may be done, where Officers and Soldiers will exert themselves—Once more therefore, the General calls upon officers, and men, to act up to the noble cause in which they are engaged, and to support the Honor and Liberties of their Country.

The gallant and brave Col Knowlton, who would have been an Honor to any Country, having fallen yesterday, while gloriously fighting, Capt Brown[75] is to take the Command of the party lately led by Col Knowlton—Officers and men are to obey him accordingly.

The Loss of the Enemy yesterday, would undoubtedly have been much greater, if the Orders of the Commander in Chief had not in some instances been contradicted by inferior officers, who, however well they may mean, ought not to presume to direct—It is therefore ordered, that no officer, commanding a party, and having received Orders from the Commander in Chief, depart from them without Counter Orders from the same Authority; And as many may otherwise err through Ignorance, the Army is now acquainted that the General's Orders are delivered by the Adjutant General, or one of his Aid's-De-Camp, Mr. Tilghman, or Col. Moylan the Quarter Master General.

Brigade Majors are to attend at Head Quarters, every day at twelve O'Clock, and as soon as possible to report where their several Brigades and Regiments are posted. If many regiments have not been relieved, for want of the attendance of their Brigade Majors for Orders; It is therefore the Interest and Duty of every Brigadier to see that his Brigade Major attends at twelve O'Clock at Noon, and five in the afternoon; and they are to be careful to make the Adjutants attend them every day.

[75] Capt. Stephen Brown, of the Twentieth Continental Infantry. He was transferred to the Fourth Connecticut Regiment and was killed at Fort Mifflin, Delaware River, Nov. 15, 1777.

The several Major and Brigadier Generals are desired to send to Head-Quarters an Account of the places where they are quartered.

Until some general Arrangement for duty can be fixed, each Brigade is to furnish Guards, who are to parade at their respective Brigadier's quarters, in such proportions as they shall direct.

Such Regiments as have expended their Ammunition, or are otherwise deficient, are immediately to be supplied, by applying to the Adjutant General for an Order—but the Regiment is to be first paraded, and their Ammunition examined, the commanding officer is then to report how such deficiency has happened.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Col. Morris's, September 18, 1776.

Sir: I have now your letter of Sept. 18th. before me; and cannot say that I, by any means approve of your proposal of sending artillery to annoy the frigate, and the Enemy's batteries on Montrasure's Island; in my opinion, it would only endanger the loss of our cannon and waste our ammunition, without answering any one good or salutary purpose.

With respect to the sick, I am as much afflicted at their situation as you or any other person can possibly be, and have taken every step in my power to prevent it; I have furnish'd money to officers chosen by the commanders of different regiments, for the purpose of providing suitable and proper accommodations for the convalescents, and as to the others I have this morning spoke to Doctor McKnight[76] on the subject and have recommended in the strongest manner to him to fall upon

[76] Dr. Charles McKnight, surgeon, Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp. He was surgeon general, Middle Department, February, 1778, and chief hospital physician from October, 1780, to January, 1782.

every method the nature of the case will admit of for their relief; and I request you will give him every assistance in your power towards effecting this salutary end:

I have ordered over to you, Parson's, Scott's and Sergents brigades, to which will be added Col. Ward's regiment, and Haslett's, Shee's, McGaw's and Atlee's battalions are to come to this place; you will post these brigades in the most advantageous manner; for the present I do not conceive you are in any great danger of being attacked on that quarter, as I have received intelligence that the enemy have drawn over their principal force to this Island. I am, etc.[77] [MS. H. S.]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Col. Roger Morris's House,
September 18, 1776.

Sir: As my Letter of the 16th. contained Intelligence of an important Nature, and such as might lead Congress to expect, that the Evacuation of New York and retreat to the Heights of Harlem in the manner they were made, would be succeeded by some other interesting event, I beg leave to inform them, that as yet nothing has been attempted upon a large and general plan of Attack.

About the time of the post's departure with my Letter, the Enemy appeared in several large Bodies upon the plains, about two and a half Miles from hence; I rode down to our advanced posts to put matters in a proper Situation, if they should attempt to come on: When I arrived there, I heard a firing which I was informed was between a party of our Rangers under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Knolton and an advanced party of the Enemy. Our Men came in and told me, that the Body of

[77] In the writing of William Grayson.

the Enemy, who kept themselves concealed, consisted of about three hundred as near as they could guess; I immediately ordered three Companies of Colonel Weedon's Regiment from Virginia, under the Command of Major Lietch and Colonel Knolton with his Rangers, composed of Volunteers from different New England Regiments, to try to get in their Rear, while a Disposition was making as if to attack them in front and thereby draw their whole attention that way. This took effect as I wished on the part of the Enemy. On the appearance of our party in front they immediately ran down the Hill, took possession of some fences and Bushes and a smart firing began, but at too great a distance to do much execution either side. The Parties under Colonel Knolton and Major Leitch unluckily began their Attack too soon, it was rather in flank than in Rear. In a little time Major Leitch was brought off wounded, having received three Balls thro' his side, and in a short time after Col: Knowlton got a Wound, which proved Mortal.

Their Men however persevered and continued the Engagement with the greatest Resolution. Finding that they wanted a support, I advanced part of Colo: Griffith's and Colo: Richardson's[78] Maryland Regiments, with some Detachments from the Eastern Regiments, who were nearest the place of Action. Those Troops charged the Enemy with great Intrepedity and drove them from the Wood into the plain, and were pushing them from thence (having silenced their Fire in a great measure), when I judged it prudent to order a retreat, fearing the Enemy (as I have since found was really the case) were sending a large Body to support their party. Major Leitch, I am in hopes, will recover but Col: Knolton's fall is much to be regretted, as that of a brave and good Officer. We had about

[78] Col. William Richardson and Col. Charles Greenberry Griffith, of the Maryland regiments of the Flying Camp. He resigned in October, 1779.

forty wounded, the Number of Slain is not yet ascertained, but it is very inconsiderable.

By a Serjeant who deserted from the Enemy and came in this Morning, I find that their party was greater than I imagined. It consisted of the 2d. Battalion of Light Infantry, a Battalion of the Royal Highlanders and three Companies of the Hessian Rifle Men, under the command of Brigadier General Leslie.[79] The Deserter reports that their Loss in wounded and missing was 89. and 8 killed. In the latter his Account is too small, as our people discovered and buried double that Number. This Affair I am in hopes will be attended with many salutary consequences, as it seems to have greatly inspirited the whole of our Troops. The Serjeant further adds, that a considerable body of Men are now encamped from the East to the North River, between the 7 and 8 Mile Stones, under the Command of General Clinton.[80] General Howe he believes has his Quarters at Mr. Apthorp's House.[81] I have the Honor to be etc.

P. S. I should have wrote Congress by Express before now, had I not expected the post every Minute, which I flatter myself will be a sufficient Apology for my delaying it. The late losses we have sustained in our Baggage and Camp Necessaries have added much to our distress which was very great before, I must therefore take the liberty of requesting Congress to

[79] Brig. Gen. Alexander Leslie.

[80] Sir Henry Clinton.

[81] Apthorp's house was due west of Hell Gate but nearer the Hudson River. Howe's report to Lord Germain (September 21) gives the British version: "On the 16th, in the morning, a large party of the enemy having passed under cover of the woods, near to the advanced posts of the army by way of Vandewater's Height, the 2d and 3d battalions of light infantry, supported by the 42d regiment, pushed forward and drove them back to their intrenchments, from whence the enemy observing they were not in force attacked them with near 3,000 men, which occasioned the march of the reserve with two field pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and the company of chasseurs, to prevent the corps engaged from being surrounded who repulsed the enemy with considerable loss, and obliged them to retire within their works. . . . We had eight officers wounded, most of them slightly, fourteen men killed, and about seventy wounded."

have forwarded, as soon as possible, such a supply of Tents, Blankets, Camp Kettles and other Articles as can be collected. We cannot be over stocked.[82]

To COLONEL JOHN GLOVER[83]

Head Quarters, Col. Morriss's, September 18, 1776.

Sir: The inconveniences Col. Baldwin's[84] regiment must of necessity be exposed to, for the want of tents, is a circumstance I can only lament but cannot remedy; to supply them from this place is altogether out of my power, as one half of the brigades from here are in the same situation; all I can say on the subject is to recommend to you, the building of huts in the most convenient manner the nature of the case will admit of, to answer the present purpose, until proper barracks can be erected; where these huts are to be placed, as also the propriety of continuing your present encampment so far distant from the ferry as a mile and a half, will be determined upon the spot by Gen. Green and yourself; he is gone to visit your quarters to day. I am, etc.[85]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 18, 1776.

Parole Jersey. Countersign Newport.

The Brigade Majors are immediately to settle a Court Martial for the trial of prisoners; to meet at the white house near Head Quarters.

Commanding Officers of regiments, and all other officers, are charged in the strictest manner, to prevent all plundering, and

[82] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[83] Of the Fourteenth Continental Infantry.
[84] Col. Loammi Baldwin, of the Twenty-sixth Continental Infantry.
[85] The text is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

to seize every Soldier carrying Plunder, whether belonging to the same regiment or not, or on whatever pretence it is taken, and the General positively commands, that such Plunderer be immediately carried to the next Brigadier or commanding officer of a regiment, who is instantly to have the offender whipped on the spot.

The Regimental Surgeons are to take care of their own Sick for the present, until the General Hospital can be established on a proper footing—They are to keep as near their Regiments as possible, and in case of Action to leave their Sick under the care of their Mates, and be at hand to assist the wounded.

Under the pretence of ranging or scouting, the greatest irregularities and excesses have been committed, the General therefore forbids in the most express manner, any such parties, but by his leave, or of the Brigadier General of the day in writing and then always to be under the direction of an officer—The General does not mean to discourage patrolling and scouting Parties, when properly regulated, on the other hand he will be pleased with, and accept the services of any good officers, who are desirous of being thus employed, and will distinguish them.

Genl. Parsons, Genl. Scott's and Col Sergeant's Brigades are to march over Kingsbridge and take General Heath's Orders for encamping—Col Shee, Magaw, Haslett, and the regiment under Col Brodhead,[86] are to return to Mount Washington, and be under the immediate Care of Genl Mifflin.

Col Wards Regiment from Connecticut, may for the present, be annexed to the Brigade commanded by Col. Serjeant.

Genl Mifflin's, McDougall's, Heard's, Wadsworth's, and Fellow's Brigades, and the Brigades under the Command of Cols. Silliman and Douglass, are to have each a Regiment in the Field this evening, by Mr. Kartright's house.

[86] Col. Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 19, 1776.

Parole Hancock. Countersign Warren.

The Companies from Maryland, under the Command of Major Price, are to join Col Smallwood's Battalion, and Genl McDougall's Brigade; and it is expected that the commanding Officer of every Corps will, together with all the officers therein, exert themselves in seeing good Order and Discipline observed. They are to consider that it is the duty of a good Officer to see, or at least to know that Orders are executed, and not to content themselves with being the mere Vehicles thro' which they are conveyed to the men—We are now arrived at an important Crisis, which calls loudly for the Zeal and Activity of the best of Officers—We see, We know that the Enemy are exerting every Nerve, not only by force of Arms, but the practices of every Art, to accomplish their purposes; And that among other pieces of Policy which is also founded on Justice, We find them exceeding careful to restrain every kind of abuse of private Property, whilst the abandoned and profligate part of our own Army, countenanced by a few officers, who are lost to every Sense of Honor and Virtue, as well as their Country's Good, are by Rapine and Plunder, spreading Ruin and Terror wherever they go; thereby making themselves infinitely more to be dreaded than the common Enemy they are come to oppose; at the same time that it exposes Men who are strolling about after plunder to be surpriz'd and taken. The General therefore hopes it will be unnecessary, on any future Occasion, for him to repeat the Orders of yesterday, with respect to this matter, as he is determined to shew no Favor to officer, or soldier, who shall offend herein, but punish without exception, every person who shall be found guilty of this most abominable practice, which if continued, must prove the destruction of any Army on earth.

That the men may be acquainted with the Orders relative to plundering, as well as others; the Neglect of which will incur Blame or Punishment, the General directs and positively orders, that every commanding Officer of a Corps, takes special Care; that the Orders are regularly read to the men every day.

Genl Nixon, with his Brigade, is to remove over to the Jersey, and will receive his orders from Genl Green, with respect to his encamping &c—. Such men of his Brigade as are now on duty must be relieved.

The Picquet Guards which are to occupy the Out Posts most advanced to the enemy, are to consist of *800* Men officer'd with 2 Cols., 2 L Cols., 2 Majors, and Captains and Subalterns in proportion—they are to be furnished by Detachment from the several Brigades below Kingsbridge, and so every day 'till further orders.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, at Col: Roger Morris's,
September 19, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you Yesterday, nothing material has occurred; However it is probable in a little time, the Enemy will attempt to force us from hence, as we are informed they are bringing many of their heavy Cannon towards the Heights and the Works we have thrown up: They have also Eight or nine Ships of War in the North River, which It is said are to Canonade our right Flank, when they open their Batteries against our Front. Every disposition is making on our part for defence, and Congress may be assured, that I shall do all in my power to maintain the post, so long as it shall appear practicable and conducive to the general good. I have &ca.[87]

[87] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, September 19, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to advise you, that in consequence of General Sullivan's Information, first by Letter and afterwards verbally, that you were willing to exchange him for Major General Prescott, and Brigadier Genl. Lord Sterling for any Brigadier of yours in our possession: I wrote to Congress to send General Prescott to some convenient place, from whence the proposed Exchange might be made. And supposing that it would be agreeable to exchange Lord Sterling for Brigadier General McDonald, he is also come forward with General Prescott. Both these Gentlemen are now at Elizabeth Town, and I only wait your Answer to this, in which you will please to fix the Time and place, when and where the Exchange may be effected. I am, etc.[88]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA[89]

Head Quarters, at Colo. Morris's House,
10 Miles from New York, September 19, 1776.

Sir: The Honourable Assembly of the State of the Massachusets Bay having informed me, by Letter of the 13th. Instt., that

[88] Howe answered on September 21. He agreed to exchange Sullivan for Prescott but demurred at Stirling for McDonald, as the latter was only a major in rank. Howe proposed instead Gov. Montfort Browne. Gen. Donald McDonald, of the Royal Highland Emigrants, had been captured by Col. Richard Caswell, of the North Carolina Militia, the day after the action at Moores Creek Bridge, in North Carolina, February 27. He was exchanged Dec. 3, 1776. The last paragraph of Howe's letter recited: "My Aid de Camp charged with the Delivery of this Letter will present to you a Ball cut and fixed to the Ends of a Nail, taken from a Number of the same Kind, found in the Encampments quitted by your Troops on the 15th Instant. I do not make any Comments upon such unwarrantable and malicious Practices, being well assured the Contrivance has not come to your Knowledge." Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[89] The "Letter Book" copy addresses this to the commanding officer of the First Division of Massachusetts Militia.

they have Ordered a Number of Militia to reinforce the Army under my Command, and requested my Orders for their Destination; I therefore request, that you will give direction, that the whole of them may be brought forward, as expeditiously as they can; sending before you, when you get within three or four days march of Kingsbridge, an Officer to receive Instructions from me, how they are to be Stationed and disposed of. It will be proper, to send Notice of this to the Officers who are behind you with part of the Men, that they may know how to conduct themselves. I am &c.

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Colo. Roger Morris's House,
10 Miles from New York, September 19, 1776.

Gentn.: I was honored the Night before last, with your favor of the 13th. Inst.; and at the same time that I conceive your anxiety to have been great, by reason of the vague and uncertain Accts. you received respecting the Attack on Long Island, give me leave to assure you that the Situation of our Affairs and the Important concerns which have surrounded me, and which are daily pressing on me, have prevented me, from transmitting in many Instances, the Intelligence I otherwise should have conveyed.

In respect to the Attack and retreat from long Island, the Public papers will furnish you with Accounts nearly true. I shall only add, that in the former we lost about 800 Men; more than three fourths of which were taken Prisoners. This Misfortune happened in great Measure, by two Detachments of our people, who were posted in two Roads leading thro' a Wood, in order to intercept the Enemy in their March, suffering a Surprise and making a precipitate retreat; which enabled

the Enemy to lead a great part of their force against the Troops Commanded by Lord Stirling which formed a third detachment, who behaved with great Bravery and Resolution, charging the Enemy, and maintaining their Posts from about Seven or Eight O'Clock in the Morning, 'till two in the afternoon; When they were Obliged to Attempt a retreat, being surrounded and overpowred by Numbers on all Sides, and in which many of them were taken, one Battalion, Smallwoods of Maryland, lost 259 Men and the general damage fell upon the Regiments from Pennsylvania Delaware and Maryland and Col Huntingdon's of Connecticut. As to the Retreat from the Island, it was effected without loss of Men and with but very little Baggage; a few heavy Cannon were left, not being Movable, on Account of the Grounds being soft and miry, thro' the Rains that had fallen. The Enemy's loss, in killed we could never ascertain, but have many reasons to believe that it was pretty considerable, and exceeded ours a good deal. The Retreat from thence was Absolutely Necessary, The Enemy having landed the Main body of their Army there to attack us in front, while their Ships of War were to cut off the Communication with the City, from whence resources of Men, Provisions &ca. were to be drawn.

Having made this Retreat, and long after, we discovered by their Movements and the Information we recd from deserters and others, that they declined attacking our Lines in the City and were forming a Plan to get in our Rear with their land Army, by crossing the Sound above us, and thereby cut off all intercourse with the Country and every Necessary Supply. The Ships of War were to co-operate, Possess the North River and prevent Succour from the Jerseys &c. This Plan appearing probable and but too practicable in its execution; it became Necessary to guard against the fatal Consequences that must follow, if their Scheme was effected, for which purpose I caused a removal of a Part of our Stores, Troops &c from the City; and a Council

of General Officers determined on thursday last, that it must be intirely abandoned, holding up however every Shew and appearance of defence, till our Sick and all our Stores could be brought away. The Evacuation being resolved on, every exertion in our power was made, to baffle their design and effect our own. The Sick were Numerous and an object of great Importance, happily we got them away; but before we could bring off all our Stores, on Sunday Morning Six or Seven Ships of War, which had gone up the East River some few days before, began a most severe and heavy Cannonade. * * *[90]

The Retreat was effected with the loss of three or four Men only. We encamped and still are on the Heights of Harlem, which are well calculated for defence against their approaches. on Monday Morning they advanced in Sight in Several large Bodies, but attempted nothing of a General Nature; Tho' there were smart Skirmishes between their advanced parties and some Detachments from our Lines which I sent out; In these our Troops behaved with great Resolution and Bravery, putting them to flight in open Ground and forcing them from posts they had Seized two or three times. A Serjeant who deserted from them, Says, the Report was, they had 89 Missing and Wounded, and Eight Killed. in the last Instance his Account is too Small, because our People have buried more than twice as Many. In Number our Loss was very inconsiderable, but in the fall of Lieut Colo. Knowlton of Connecticut, I consider it as great, being a brave and good Officer. Major Leitch who Commanded a detachment from the Virginia Regiment, unfortunately received three Balls thro' his side, he still supports his Spirits and seems as if he would do well. Colo Knowlton was Interred with every honor due to his Merit and that the Situation of things would admit of. Since this affair, nothing has

[90] The omitted portion is a repetition of the account of the Kips Bay affair. (See Washington's letter to Congress, Sept. 16, 1776, *ante*.)

happened. The Enemy, it is said, are bringing forward several Heavy Cannon to force us from the Heights. At the same time that they open their Batteries in front, their Ships of War, Seven or Eight of which are in the North River, are to Cannonade our right Flank. Thus have I run over, in a cursory rough way, an Account of the most material Events from the Battle on Long Island to the present moment. I have not time to study order or Elegance. This however I do not so much mind, and only wish my Narrative was more agreeable. But we must set down things as they are. I hope they will be better: Nothing on my part shall be wanting to bring about the most favorable Events.

I am now to make my most grateful Acknowledgments to your Honble. Body, for the succour they meant to afford me in the Militia lately Ordered to March; and have only to lament, that they should be so unprovided with Tents and other Camp Necessaries. Our Distresses in these Instances are extremely great, having by no means a Sufficiency for the Troops already here, nor do I know how they can be procured. I am at a loss for the Officers Names who Command this Reinforcement as they are not Mentioned. However, I have wrote by Fessenden, that they should lead the Men on as fast as possible, sending before them, when they get within one or two days March of King's Bridge, an Officer to receive Orders from me, How they are to be disposed of. Instructions given now, might become improper, by the Intervention of a Variety of Circumstances. I have the honor to be &c.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 20, 1776.

Parole Spain. Countersign France.

As many of the Regiments that came last from New York have lost their Tents and cooking Utensils (not from any default of their own, but want of teams, and vessels, to bring them

of in time) by which means one part of the Army are greatly distressed, whilst the other part are comfortably supplied; the General earnestly advises and directs the Colonels and commanding Officers of such Corps as have not suffered, to store their men thicker in their tents, and lend all they can spare, to their suffering fellow-soldiers, 'till such time as others can be provided—The tents &c are to be sent to Genl. Spencer's, at Mr. Kartright's house,[91] who will cause them to be delivered to the Regiments standing most in need of them, which Regiments are to be answerable for them when called for.

The General hopes, that soldiers fighting in such a cause as ours, will not be discouraged by any difficulties that may offer; and informs them that the Grounds he now possesses are to be defended at all events; Any Officer, or Soldier therefore, who (upon the Approach, or Attack of the Enemy's Forces, by land or water) presumes to turn his back and flee, shall be instantly Shot down, and all good officers are hereby authorized and required to see this done, that the brave and gallant part of the Army may not fall a sacrifice to the base and cowardly part, or share their disgrace in a cowardly and unmanly Retreat. The Heights we are now upon may be defended against double the force we have to contend with, and the whole Continent expects it of us: But that we may assist the natural Strength of the ground, as much as possible, and make our Posts more secure, the General most earnestly recommends it to the commanding Officers of every Brigade, and Regiment, to turn out every man they have off duty, for fatigue, and apply to Col Putnam for tools, and directions where and how to work—This Measure is also earnestly recommended to the men, as it will tend greatly to their own security and ease, as the Guards will be lessened in proportion as the grounds get strengthened.

[91] Cartright's was on the Albany road about one-half mile northwest of Cortlandt's Mills.

Genl Green is to appoint some careful officer at Burdett's ferry to examine passengers, and see that none come over but such as have proper passes—Genl. Mifflin is to do the same on this side, to prevent disaffected, or suspected persons, from passing—If Capt. Johnson, and the other Gentlemen who were employed in this business, at New-York, incline to engage in it again, they are to have the preference given them.

The Colonels, or commanding officers of the Militia Regiments, now in the service, may make out their Pay-Abstracts in order to receive payment—they will be particularly attentive in doing it, as the disorderly manner, in which many of those men, have left the service, will require the utmost care, to prevent impositions on the public; And the Congress having resolv'd, that all Continental Troops and the Militia going home from service shall restore all Continental Arms, and other property; and also all Ammunition remaining in their possession, at the time of their being about to return, or to have the value of it deducted.

The Guards will be relieved at four O'Clock this Afternoon, after which they are to be relieved constantly and regularly at Nine O'Clock every day.

The General desires that the Brigade Majors may attend him precisely at seven O'Clock to morrow morning, and account for the remissness in their several departments, as he is determined to put up with no more negligence in office—He expects the punctual attendance of the whole.

Genl Wadsworth must look out a good person to do the duty of his brigade.

Commanding and other Officers of Regiments, are to collect the horses straying about their Encampments, and send them to the Quarter-Master General or one of his Deputies—the Uses these horses may answer when properly employed, will be an inducement to every officer to exert himself.

The officers of the Guard at Kingsbridge to be careful, that no Soldiers take horses over the bridge, tho' such Soldier should have a common pass. Every person riding without a saddle, is to be immediately taken up, and the horse sent to the Quarter Master 'till released by further Orders—

The scarcity of Fodder makes it necessary that no horses should come into Camp, but what belong to the Army; All Visitants therefore are to leave their horses beyond the Bridge, unless they obtain a special Order from some General Officer, or Commandant of a Brigade.

Genl. Bell,[92] Brigadier of the day, to meet the Guards at four O'Clock, on the parade, and report immediately, what Brigade Major fails of bringing his proportion of Guards, at the time.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters Colo. Roger Morris's,
10 Miles from New York, September 20, 1776.

Sir: I have your several favors of the 9th. 12th. and 16th Instt. with their inclosures. I am particularly happy to find by the Copies of General Arnold's and Colo. Dayton's Letters, that your apprehensions of an Indian War in your Quarter have entirely vanished, and that you have disbanded the Militia in consequence.

I clearly see, and have severely felt the ill effects of short enlistments, and have repeatedly given Congress my sentiments, thereon; I beleive they are by this time convinced, that there is no opposing a standing, well disciplined Army, but by one upon the same plan; and I hope, if this Campaign does not put an end to this contest, they will put the Army upon a different footing, than what it has heretofore been. I shall take care to remind them, that the terms for which DeHaas's Maxwell's and

[92] Brig. Gen. Rezin Beall.

Wind's Regiments enlisted, expires the beginning of October, but if they have not already thought of taking some steps to secure them a while longer, it will be too late; except the Officers will exert themselves in prevailing on the Men, to stay till their places can be supplied by some means or other. If the Officers are spirited and well inclined, they may lead their men as they please.

I removed my Quarters to this place, on Sunday last, it having been previously determined, by a Council of General Officers, on the preceding Thursday, to evacuate New York; The reasons that principally weighed with them, were, that from every information, and every movement of the Enemy, it was clear, that their attack was not meditated against the City, their intent evidently was, to throw their whole Army, between part of ours in New York, and its environs, and the remainder about Kingsbridge, and thereby cut off our communication with each other and with the Country. Indeed their operations on Sunday last, fully satisfied the opinion of the Council, and the steps taken in consequence; for on that Morning, they began their landing at Turtle Bay, and continued to throw over great Numbers of men, from Long Island, and from Montresor's and Bohhanan's Islands, on which they had previously lodged them. As we had exerted ourselves in removing our Sick and Stores of every kind, after the measure of abandoning had been determined upon, very few things, and but three or four Men fell into the Enemy's hand.

On Monday last, we had a pretty sharp skirmish between two Battalions of light Infantry and Highlanders, and three Companies of Hessian Rifle Men, commanded by Brigr. Leslie, and Detachments from our Army under the Command of Lieutt. Colo. Knowlton of Connecticut, and Major Leitch of Virginia. The Colo. received a mortal wound, and

the Majr. three balls thro' his body, but he is likely to do well. Their parties behaved with great bravery, and being supported with fresh troops, beat the Enemy fairly from the field. Our loss, except in that of Colo. Knowlton, a most valuable and gallant Officer, is inconsiderable. That of the Enemy, from Accounts, between Eighty and One hundred Wounded, and fifteen or twenty killed. This little advantage has inspirited our troops prodigiously, they find that it only requires resolution and good Officers to make an enemy, (that they stood in too much dread of) give way.

The British Army lays incamped about two Miles below us, they are busy in bringing over their Cannon, and Stores from Long Island, and we are putting ourselves in the best posture of defence, that time and Circumstance will admit of.

I inclose you Copies of several resolutions of Congress, respecting the Northern Army &c, not knowing whether they have yet been transmitted to you, I received Capt. Varicks resignation, which shall be forwarded to Congress this day. I am &c.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 20, 1776.

Gentlemen: Having reason to believe the enemy will attempt to gall us with their ships of war from the North River as soon as they are ready to open their batteries against the front of our lines, which we expect them to erect with great industry, I beg leave to mention that I think it may be of immense consequence if your honourable body will order down some of your fire-ships, which may lay just above the obstructions in the river under cover of the guns of Fort Washington, where they will be ready to act in case the ships should attempt

to come up. Hurried and surrounded with a thousand things, I have only time to add that I have the honor to be, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 20, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 16th. with its inclosures; to prevent the injury and abuses which would arise from the Militia and other Troops carrying away Ammunition and Continental property, I have published the substance of the Resolves upon the Subject, in General Orders.

Since my Letter of Yesterday, nothing of importance has cast up; The Enemy are forming a large and extensive encampment, in the plains mentioned in my last and are busily employed in transporting their Cannon and Stores from Long Island. As they advance them this way, we may reasonably expect their Operations will not long be deferred.

Inclosed are sundry Letters &ca. to which Congress will be pleased to pay such regard, as they may think them deserving of. The Letter from Monr. Devourony[93] came open, under cover of one to me. Those from Colonel Hand and Colonel Ward, contain a list of vacancies in their Regiments, and of the Persons they esteem proper to fill them. The former, I believe returned no list before, the latter says he never got any Commissions. Generals Howe and Erskine's Proclamations,[94] shew the Measures that have been pursued to force and seduce the Inhabitants

[93] Chevalier de Berruyer du Maurony. He wrote from Boston (September 9) asking permission for his vessel to leave that port for the West Indies. His letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[94] Sir William Howe and Sir William Erskine. The latter had been colonel of the Eightieth Foot and was now a brigadier with the rank of major general in America. Howe's proclamation, signed by both Lord and Sir William Howe, was dated September 19, and promised in the King's name a revision of his instructions and pardons and favors to all who would now return to the British allegiance. A copy is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It was published in the *New York Gazette* of Sept. 9, 1776; in the weekly *Mercury* of Sept. 30, 1776; and repeated in the latter Oct. 7, 1776.

of Long Island from their Allegiance to the States, and to assist in their destruction.

As the period will soon arrive, when the Troops composing the present Army, (a few excepted) will be disbanded according to the tenor of their Inlistments and the most fatal consequences may ensue, if a suitable and timely Provision is not made in this Instance, I take the Liberty of suggesting to Congress, not only the expediency, but the absolute necessity there is, that their earliest attention should be had to this Subject. In respect to the time, that Troops should be engaged for, I have frequently given my Sentiments, nor have I omitted to express my Opinion of the difficulties that will attend raising them, nor of the Impracticability of effecting It, without the allowance of a large and extraordinary bounty.

It is a melancholy and painful consideration to those who are concerned in the Work, and have the command, to be forming Armies constantly, and to be left by Troops just when they begin to deserve the Name, or perhaps at a Moment when an important blow is expected. This I am informed will be the case at Ticonderoga, with part of the Troops there, unless some system is immediately come into, by which they can be induced to stay. General Schuyler tells me, in a letter received yesterday, that DeHaas,[95] Maxwell's[96] and Winds's[97] Regiments stand engaged only till the beginning of next Month, and that the Men, he is fearful, will not remain longer, than the time of their Inlistments.

I would also beg leave to mention to Congress, that the Season is fast approaching, when Cloaths of every kind will be wanted for the Army. Their distress is already great, and will be encreased, as the weather becomes more severe. Our situation is now bad, but is much better than the Militia that are

[95] Col. John Philip de Haas, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment.
[96] Col. William Maxwell, of the Second New Jersey Regiment.
[97] Col. William Winds, of the First New Jersey Regiment.

coming to Join us from the States of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, in consequence of the requisition of Congress. They I am informed have not a single Tent, or a necessary of any kind, nor can I conceive, how It will be possible to support them. These circumstances are extremely alarming and oblige me to wish, Congress to have all the Tents, Clothing of every kind, and Camp necessaries, provided and forwarded that are to be procured. These Eastern reinforcements have not a single necessary, not a pan or a Kettle, in which we are now greatly deficient. It is with reluctance that I trouble Congress with these Matters, but to whom can I resort for relief but to them? The necessity therefore which urges the Application, will excuse It, I am persuaded.

I have not been able to transmit Congress a Genl. return of the Army this Week owing to the peculiar situation of our Affairs and the great shifting and Changing among our Troops. As soon as I can procure One a Copy shall be forwarded to Congress. I have the Honor etc.

September 21, 1776.

Things with us remain in the situation they were Yesterday.[98]

To JOSEPH TRUMBULL

September 21, 1776.

Sir: You are directed to take the within mentd. Wine[99] for the Use of the Hospital, taking a proper Account of it.[1]

[C.S.L.]

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[98] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[99] Two pipes of Madeira wine which had been the property of Colonel Montresor, of the British Army. The hospital wanted it, as its supply of bark had given out and the "Wine may be the best Substitute we can prescribe to support the Strength of the Patient." (See Dr. Charles McKnight's letter to Trumbull, Sept. 21, 1776, in the *Washington Papers*.)

[1] In the writing of Joseph Reed.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 21, 1776.

Parole Lisbon. Countersign Dover.

If the Quarter Master General has any Sails, or other Covering; he is to deliver them to Genl. Spencer's order, who will see that the Regiments most in need of it, now under his immediate command, are first supplied.

The General earnestly exhorts the commanding Officers of every Regiment, and Corps, to fall upon the best and most expeditious method of procuring Cloaths and Necessaries for their men before the season gets too far advanced—For this purpose they are hereby authorized to send out one or more officers, as the nature of the case shall require, and the service will admit of, to purchase and provide them.

Generals Putnam and Spencer, together with the several Brigadiers, on this side Kingsbridge, are to look over the Grounds within our lines, and fix upon places to build Barracks, or Huts, for quartering the men in. No time should be lost in making the choice, that covering may be had as soon as possible, for the ease and comfort of the men.

It is earnestly recommended to all Brigadiers and commanding Officers of Corps, to see or know that the Orders relative to their respective Brigades &c. are complied with; and they as well as commanding Officers of Regiments &c, are requested to attend particularly to the state of the men's health, that those that are really Sick, may be supplied in the best manner our situation and circumstances will admit of, whilst such as feign themselves Sick, merely to get excused from duty, meet with no kind of countenance, or favour, as it only tends to throw the burden upon the spirited and willing men, who disdain such scandalous practices. The General would remind all officers,

of the indispensible necessity there is of each of them, exerting himself in the Department he acts, and that where this is the case of the advantages resulting from it, as an Army, let it be ever so large, then moves like *Clock-work;* whereas, without it, it is no better than an ungovernable Machine, that serves only to perplex and distract those who attempt to conduct it.

The Brigadier Generals, and the Brigade Major, of the day, are both to attend the parade, at the hour of mounting Guard; see them brought on and marched off, and so continue near the advanced lines 'till they are relieved the next day, in order that they may be ready in case of an Attack, to command at the lines—When they are relieved, they are to report extraordinaries to the Commander in Chief.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 22, 1776.

Parole Hampton. Countersign Newark.

The Court Martial of which Col Sage[2] was President is dissolved—The Brigade Majors to form a new one immediately—Col Magaw to preside, to meet to morrow at Head-Quarters, Nine O'Clock—The Brigade Majors to give notice to the officers of their respective brigades.

There is a shameful deficiency of Officers at Guard-Mounting and other duty—The Brigade Majors are to put in Arrest, any officer, who being warned, does not attend his duty, unless excused by the Brigadier General. The many Complaints that are hourly made of plundering both public and private property, induces the General to direct that every Regiment be paraded at five O'Clock this evening, the Knapsacks and Tents of the whole to be examined under the inspection of the Field Officers, and all Articles, not the proper Baggage and

[2] Col. Comfort Sage, of a Connecticut State regiment and, later, of the Connecticut Militia.

Accoutrements of a Soldier, set apart, and kept by the Colonel, or commanding Officer, 'till Inquiry can be made, how they came possessed of them—A Report is expected from the commanding Officer of the Regiment, to Head Quarters, whether any Articles are found, or not—And the General depends upon the Honor of the officers, to inspect carefully, and make a faithful Report.

It is with particular pleasure that the General has it in his power to inform the officers and soldiers, who have been wounded in their Country's Cause, and all others whose lot it may be to be disabled, that The Congress have come to the following Resolution (Viz)

That Officers and Privates, loosing a Limb in any Engagement, or who shall be so disabled in the service of the United States of America, as to render them incapable of getting a livelihood, shall receive half of their Monthly-Pay, during life, or the continuance of their disability, from the time their pay ceases as officers, or soldiers.

Also such officers, or soldiers, as are wounded in any Engagement, and rendered incapable of service, tho' not totally disabled from getting a livelihood, shall receive Monthly, such Sums towards their Subsistence, as the Assembly, or Representative Body of the State, they belong to, or reside in, judge adequate; they producing in the cases above-mentioned, to the Committee, or Officer appointed to receive the same, in the State, where they reside, or belong, or to the Assembly, or Legislative Body of such State, a Certificate from the Commanding Officer, who was in the Engagement, in which they were wounded, or in case of his death, from some other officer of the same Corps, and the Surgeon that attended them; of their names, office, rank, department, regiment and company, the nature of their wounds and in what action or engagement they were wounded.[3]

The Brigadier of the day, where the Guards mount at the lines, is to give strict charge to all the officers, not to suffer any person whatsoever, to go beyond the out-Sentries, without an

[3]The resolves of Aug. 26, 1776. They were published, by order of Congress, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Sept. 4, 1776. As quoted in General Orders, they vary in verbal particulars from the text in the *Journals of the Continental Congress.*

Order in writing from himself—All the Sentries are to be informed of this, and if any person whatever presume to disobey the Orders, they are to fire upon in the same manner as they would do on a common Enemy. Any persons coming in from the Enemy's lines are to be carried to the Brigadier of the day immediately for examination, who is to take their information in writing, and send it with the person or persons to the Commander in Chief—The Brigadier is to see that a chain of Sentries extend from the North River to Harlem River, beyond which no Stragglers are to pass.

The officer commanding the Scouts, is to attend at Head Quarters, at seven O'Clock, every morning, to know if there are any orders for these Corps.

The commanding Officers of the several Regiments, are to be particularly attentive, in seeing that their men are supplied with Ammunition, and that they account regularly for the Cartridges delivered to them: They are not to suffer any Pieces to be discharged at Retreat-beating, but such as will not fire in an Engagement, and cannot be drawn. The great Waste of Ammunition is such, that unless the officers will exert themselves to see justice done to the public, a sufficiency cannot be kept upon hand to supply them.

Mr. Josiah Adams is appointed Paymaster to Col Little's[4] Regiment, and Mr Elisha Humphreys to Col Webb's[5] Regiment.

The Court Martial whereof Col. Sage was President having found Ebenezer Liffenwell of Capt. Clift's Company and Col Durkee's Regt. guilty of "Cowardice and Misbehaviour before the Enemy on Monday last"—and also of "presenting his Firelock at his superior Officer, when turning him back a second time"; which by the 27th. Article of the Rules and

[4] Col. Moses Little's Twelfth Continental Infantry.
[5] Col. Charles Webb's Nineteenth Continental Infantry.

Regulations of the Army is *Death*—He is accordingly adjudged to suffer *Death*.

The General approves the sentence, and orders that he be shot at the head of the Army, on the Grand-Parade, near Kartright's house, to morrow morning at eleven O'Clock—The Men of the several Regiments below Kingsbridge, not upon Fatigue or Guard are to march down at that hour—The Provost Marshal to attend. Major Henly, acting Deputy Adjt. General, will order twelve Men, out of the Guards paraded for duty, to morrow, to execute the sentence.

The same Court Martial having found Ensign McCumber of Capt. Barns's Company, and Col Serjeant's Regt. guilty of the infamous Crime of "plundering the Inhabitants of Harlem"—and ordered him to be cashiered—The General approves the sentence and orders him to be turned out of the Army immediately as an officer.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp Near Kingsbridge, September 22, 1776.

Sir: I had flattered myself that the Congress would before this Time have forwarded the amended Articles for the Government of the Army. But as they have not I think it my indispensable Duty to lay before them the Necessity, the absolute Necessity of forming an Article against plundering, marauding and burning of Houses; such a Spirit has gone forth in our Army that neither publick or private Property is secure. Every Hour brings the most distressing Complaints of the Ravages of our own Troops who are become infinitely more formidable to the poor Farmers and Inhabitants than the common Enemy. Horses are taken out of the Continental Teams. The Baggage of Officers and the Hospital Stores, Even the Quarters of General Officers are not exempt from Rapine.

Some severe and exemplary Punishment to be inflicted in a summary Way must be immediately administered, or the Army will be totally ruined. I must beg the immediate Attention of Congress to this Matter as of the utmost Importance to our Existence as an Army.[6] I am, &c.[7]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 22, 1776.

Sir: I have nothing in particular to communicate to Congress respecting the situation of our Affairs, It is much the same as when I had the Honor of addressing you last.

On Friday night, about Eleven or twelve O'Clock a fire[8] broke out in the City of New York, near the New or St. Pauls Church, as It is said, which continued to burn pretty rapidly till

[6] The letter was read in Congress on September 23. Hancock's letter to Washington (September 24) referred him to the committee of Congress which was to confer with him on the state of the Army.

[7] In the writing of Joseph Reed.

[8] Responsibility for the fire does not rest with any official, civil or military. It was probably started to cover looting by the criminal element. There were many exaggerated reports published in the London papers in October, in which the usual tales of bad blood between the New England and other troops are again recounted. The New Englanders wanted to burn the town but were prevented by the New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians, according to the *London Chronicle*.

The *Pennsylvania Journal* of Oct. 20, 1776, states: "The fire originated at or near Whitehall, soon extended to the Exchange, took its course up the west side of Broad Street, as far as Verlattenberg Hill, consuming all the blocks from the Whitehall up. The flames extended across the Broadway from the house of Mr. David Johnson to Beaver Lane, or Fischer's Alley, on the west, and carried all before it, a few buildings excepted, to the house at the corner of Barclay Street, wherein the late Mr. Adam Vandenberg lived, sweeping the cross streets in the way. . . . The cause of the fire is not known. We imagine about a 6th part of the whole city is destroyed."

Sparks notes that in describing this catastrophe the British commander wrote to Lord George Germain on the 23d that the town was set on fire in several places with matches and combustibles that had been prepared with great art and ingenuity. He added: "Many were detected in the act, and some killed upon the spot by the enraged troops in garrison; and had it not been for the exertions of Major-General Robertson, the officers under his command in town, and the brigade of guards detached from the camp, the whole must infallibly have been consumed, as the night was extremely windy. The destruction is computed to be about one quarter of the town."

after Sunrise the next morning. I have not been Informed how the Accident happened, nor received any certain Account of the damage. Reports says many Houses between the Broadway and the River were consumed. I have the Honor to be &ca.[9]

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Heights of Haerlem, September 22, 1776.

Dear Brother: My extreame hurry for some time past has rendered it utterly impossible for me to pay that attention to the Letters of my Friends which Inclination, and natural affection always Inclines me to. I have no doubt therefore of meeting with their excuse, tho' with respect to yourself, I have had no Letter from you since the date of my last saving the one of Septr. the 1st.

With respect to the Attack and Retreat from Long Island the public Papers would furnish you with accts. nearly true. I shall only add, that in the former we lost about 800 Men, more than three fourths of which were taken Prisoners. This misfortune happened in a great measure by two Detachments of our People who were Posted in two Roads leading thro' a Wood in order to intercept the Enemy in their March, suffering a Surprize, and making a precipitate Retreat, which enabled the Enemy to lead a great part of their force against the Troops Commanded by Lord Sterling which formed a third detachment; who behaved with great bravery and resolution.

As to the Retreat from the Island, under the Circumstances we then were, it became absolutely necessary, and was effected without loss of Men, and with but very little baggage. A few heavy Cannon were left, not being movable, on acct. of the Grounds being soft and Miry, thro' the heavy and incessant

[9] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Rains which had fallen. The Enemys loss in killed we could never ascertain, but have many reasons to believe that it was pretty considerable, and exceeded ours a good deal; our Retreat from thence as I said before was absolutely necessary, the Enemy having landed the main body of their Army to Attack us in Front while their Ships of War were to cut off all communication with the City, from whence resources of Men, Provisions &ca. were to be drawn.

Having made this Retreat, not long after we discovered by the movements of the Enemy and the information we received from Deserters and others, that they declin'd attacking our Lines in the City, and were forming a plan to get in our Rear with their Land Army, by crossing the Sound above us, and thereby to cut off all Intercourse with the Country and every necessary supply. The Ships of War were to coöperate, possess the North River, and prevent succours from the Jerseys, &c. This Plan appearing probable and but too practicable in its execution, it became necessary to guard agt. the fatal consequences that must follow if their scheme was affected; for which purpose I caused a removal of a part of our Stores, Troops, &ca. from the City, and a Council of General Officers determined on Thursday the 12th. that it must be entirely abandoned; as we had, with an Army weaker than theirs, a line of Sixteen or 18 Miles to defend, to keep open our Communication with the Country, besides the defence of the City. We held up however every show and appearance of defence till our Sick and all our Stores could be brought away; the evacuation being resolved on every exertion in our power was made to baffle their designs, and effect our own. The sick were numerous (amounting to more than the fourth part of our whole Army) and an object of great Importance, happily we got them away; but before we could bring off all our Stores on Sunday Morning Six or Seven

Ships of War which had gone up the East River some few days before began a most severe and heavy Canonade to scour the Ground and effect a Landing of their Troops. Three Ships of War also ran up the North River that Morning above the City, to prevent our Boats and Small Craft carrying away our Baggage &ca.

I had gone the Evening before to the Main body of our Army which was Posted about these Heights and the Plains of Harlem, where it seemed probable from the movements, and disposition of the Enemy they meant to Land and make an Attack the next Morning. However the Event did not happen. Immediately on hearing the Cannonade I rode with all possible expedition towards the place of Landing, and where Breast Works had been thrown up to secure our Men, and found the Troops that had been posted there to my great surprize and Mortification, and those ordered to their support (consisting of Eight Regiments) notwithstanding the exertions of their Generals to form them, running away in the most shameful and disgraceful manner. I used every possible effort to rally them but to no purpose, and, on the appearance of a small part of the Enemy (not more than 60 or 70) they ran off without firing a Single Gun. Many of our heavy Cannon wd. inevitably have fallen into the Enemy's hands as they landed so soon, but this scandalous conduct occasioned a loss of many Tents, Baggage and Camp Equipage, which would have been easily secured had they made the least opposition.

The Retreat was made with the loss of a few men only. We Incamp'd, and still are on, the Heights of Harlem which are well calculated for Defence against their approaches. On Monday Morning they advanced in sight in several large body, but attempted nothing of a general Nature, tho' there were smart skirmishes between their advanced parties and some

Detachments from our lines which I sent out. In these our Troops behaved well, putting the Enemy to flight in open Ground, and forcing them from Posts they had seized two or three times. A Sergeant who deserted from them says they had as he was told 89 Wounded and Missing besides Slain, but other accts. make the wounded much greater.

Our loss in killed and Wounded was about 60; but the greatest loss we sustaind was in the death of Lt. Colo. Knowlton,[10] a brave and Gallant officer. Majr. Leitch of Weedon's Regiment had three Balls through his Side, and behaved exceedingly well, he is in a fair way of recovery. Nothing material has happend since this; the Enemy it is said are bringing up their heavy Cannon, so that we are to expect another attack soon, both by Land and Water, as we are upon the Hudson, (or North River) at the place where we have attempted to stop the Navigation by sinking obstructions in the River and erecting Batteries.

The Dependance which the Congress has placed upon the Militia, has already greatly injured, and I fear will totally ruin our Cause. Being subject to no controul themselves they introduce disorder among the Troops you have attempted to discipline while the change in their living brings on sickness; this makes them Impatient to get home, which spreads universally, and introduces abominable Desertions. In short, it is not in the power of Words to describe the task I have to act. £50,000 should not induce me again to undergo what I have done. Our Numbers by Sickness, desertion, &ca. is greatly reduced. I have been trying these 4 or 5 days to get a return but have not yet succeeded. I am sure however we have not more than 12 or

[10] Knowlton's death possibly explains the fact that there is no mention of Capt. Nathan Hale in Washington's letters, as it was Knowlton who is credited with accepting Hale's volunteer services. Morton Pennypacker's *Two Spies* quotes a letter from Tench Tilghman to William Duer, 10 days after Hale's execution: "General Howe hanged a Captain of ours belonging to Knowlton's Rangers who went into New York to make discoveries. I don't see why we should not make retaliation." The story that Knowlton introduced Hale to Washington and that the Commander in Chief gave Hale his instructions lacks documentary confirmation.

14,000 Men fit for duty, whilst the Enemy (who it is said are very healthy) cannot have less than near 25,000. My sincere love to my Sister and the Family and Compliments to any enquiring Friends concludes me, etc.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 23, 1776.

Sir: Genl Howe, in a Letter received from him yesterday Evening by a Flag, having offered to exchange Brigadier Genl. Lord Stirling for Governor Montfort Brown, and also requested that Govr. Skene may be granted his liberty without delay, assuring me that Mr. Lovell shall be immediately enlarged, on his Arrival from Hallifax and whose exchange for Governor Skene's has been agreed upon; I must take the Liberty of requesting the favor of your Notice to these two Gentlemen, and that you will provide them with a proper Escort to repair to Head Quarters as soon as they can, with their baggage; that the proposed Exchange for Lord Stirling may be effected, and Genl. Howe's request be Complied with respecting Governor Skene's being returned. The Gentlemen are to consider themselves under parole, till such time as they are sent from Head Qurs. to General Howe.

I must beg your excuse, for not having wrote you of late upon the Situation of our Affairs, and such Events as have cast up in the Military Line. I shall only add, that the Important Concerns which have Commanded my Closest attention, have been the Cause, and, I am fully persuaded, will furnish me with a Sufficient apology.

Of the evacuation of the City of New York, on Sunday Sennight, and the retreat to this Place you will have heard before now, and of the Manner in which it was conducted. I am certain, a minute relation of them, would only increase the uneasiness,

which would naturally arise upon hearing the Events; and therefore, as I have not time, I shall not enter upon it. The Enemy by their Movements having unfolded their Plan of Operations, and discovered that they declined making a direct attack upon the Town, and that their designs were to land in our Rear and to cut off all intercourse with the Country; at the same time to prevent any Communication with the Jersey and States, South of the North River, by means of their Ships of War; It became necessary to adopt such Measures, as seemed best calculated to baffle their schemes and promote the Common Interests. To these ends, a Council of Officers determined the Evacuation of the City absolutely necessary, and I have only to wish, that it had been made in a Way more honorable and with less loss of Baggage; which might have been the case, had the Troops that remained there, for the defence of the Lines, not betaken themselves to a most precipitate and disgraceful flight, contrary to the exertions of their General officers and every effort in my Power to prevent and form them. Having gone from hence, as soon as the Ships began their Cannonade, and whither I had come the Night before, to the Main Body of our Army, in expectation of an Attack that night or the next Morning; as the parade of the Enemy and the unusual Stir amongst them, strongly Indicated one. The next Morning, several large Columns of them appeared on the Plains, at the distance of about two Miles and a half below us, and some smart Skirmishes ensued between their Advanced parties composed of the 2d. Battallion of Infantry, a Regt. of Royal Highlanders, and three Companies of the Hessian Chauseurs or Rifle Men and the detachments which I sent out to oppose them. Upon this Occasion, our Men behaved with great Spirit and Intrepidity, putting the Enemy to flight and forcing them from their Posts two or three times. Our people buried Sixteen or Eighteen of their dead, as they say; and a Serjeant who has since deserted,

reports, they had Eighty Nine Missing and Wounded. Our Loss in Number was inconsiderable, but must be considered as great, in the fall of Lieut. Colo. Knowlton of your State who Commanded a party of Rangers, composed of Volunteers from the several New England Regiments, and who was a brave and good officer. Every honor was paid to his merit in his Interment, that the Situation of things would admit of. The Enemy have formed a large Encampment in the plains, or rather Heights, below us, extending across, as it were, from the East to the North River; but have attempted nothing as yet of a General nature. We are making every disposition in our power, for defence and I should hope from the Ground we are on, If they make an Attack and our Men behave with tolerable resolution and firmness, that they will meet with a repulse, or, at least, any advantage they gain will be attended with Sorrow and a Considerable Loss. Major Leitch, who led on a detachment of the Virginia Regiment in the affair of Monday, received three Balls thro' one Side; he still retains his Spirits and seems as if he would recover. On friday Night, about Eleven or twelve OClock, a fire broke out in the City of New York, which, burning rapidly till after Sun rise next morning, destroyed a great Number of Houses. By what means it happened we do not know; but the Gentleman who brought the Letter from Genl. Howe last night, and who was one of his Aide De Camps, informed Col. Reed, that several of our Countrymen had been punished with various deaths on Account of it; some by hanging, others by burning, &c., alledging that they were apprehended when Committing the fact. I have &c.

P.S. I would choose that Governors Brown and Skene should be stopt, when they come within Ten or twelve Miles, and detained till one of the Escort can inform me of their coming, and receive my directions respecting them.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head-Quarters, Heights of Haerlem,
September 23, 1776.

Sir: I yesterday evening received the favor of your letter of the 21st. by your Aid de Camp Captn. Montresor[11]; in consequence of which, I this morning despatched an Express to ElizabethTown with orders that Major Genl. Prescott should be permitted to return in the Boat that carried Genl. Sullivan over to that place.

I most readily concur in the proposition you are pleased to make for the Exchange of Brigadier General Lord Stirling for Governor Montfort Brown and have sent for him accordingly. I should hope that Lord Stirling will be immediately set at liberty, on my promise that Governor Brown shall be sent to you as soon as he arrives.[12] I had no doubt but Mr. McDonald's title would have been acknowledged, having understood that he received his Commission from the hands of Governor Martin[13]; nor can I consent to rank him as Major, till I have proper authority from Congress, to whom I shall state the matter upon your representation.

Agreeably to your request, I shall transmit to Lieutt. Colo. Campbell,[14] a copy of the List of Officers of the 42d. and 71st. Regiments, taken by us last spring, that it may be rectified in the Instances in which it may be wrong, and will then place opposite to their Names the Officers I would wish in return for them: The Exchange of privates, I shall take the

[11] Capt. Robert Montresor, of the Forty-ninth Foot, British Army.

[12] Washington wrote to Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer (September 23) directing him to send forward General Prescott but to return McDonald to Philadelphia and take the directions of Congress concerning him. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[13] Gov. Joseph Martin, of North Carolina.

[14] Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, of the Seventy-first Foot, British Army.

earliest opportunity in my power to carry into execution; but their being greatly dispersed through the New England Governments, in order to their better accommodation, will prevent it for some time.

Having the fullest confidence in your assurance, that Mr. Lovell will be released when he arrives from Halifax, I have wrote for Governor Skene to come to Head Quarters, that he may proceed immediately to you.

As to the Exchange of prisoners settled between Captn. Foster[15] and Genl. Arnold, I beg leave to inform you, that it was a transaction, in which I had not the smallest concern, nor have I authority to give directions in any degree respecting the matter.

The information you have received concerning the ill-treatment of your Officers, I would fain hope is not generally well founded: The Letters from them, which have passed through my Hands, hold forth a different language. In particular instances, 'tis true, there are some who have been restricted to a closer confinement and severer treatment than they otherwise would have been, for breaking or refusing to give their paroles. Such I am confident will not be countenanced by your Excellency, and I am persuaded by a closer investigation of the enquiry, you will discover, that there have been no other persons whatever, who have experienced the smallest harshness from us; I shall However obtain all the information on the Subject in my power, that every ground of complaint, if any exists, may be entirely removed, it being my most earnest wish, that during this unhappy contest, there be every exercise of humanity, which the nature of the case will possibly admit of.

Your Aid de Camp delivered me the Ball you mention, which was the first of the kind I ever saw or heard of; You may depend

[15] Capt. George Forster, of the Eighth Foot, British Army.

the contrivance is highly abhorred by me, and every measure shall be taken to prevent so wicked and infamous a practice being adopted in this Army. I have the honor &c.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters at the Heights of Harlem,
September 23, 1776.

Sir: Your favour of the 21st instant, enclosing the resolution of the Representatives of the State of New York, has come duly to hand and will be properly attended to. I am exceedingly obliged by the readiness you declare you will pay to any commands which you may receive from me, respecting the great cause in which we are engaged. * * *[16]

I advanced part of Colonel Griffith's and Colonel Richardson's Maryland regiments, with some detachments of Eastern troops, who charged the enemy and drove them from the wood to the plain, and were still pursuing, when I judged it prudent to withdraw them, fearing the enemy might be sending a large reinforcement to the troops which were engaged, which was the case as I have since understood. * * * I am in hopes this little success will be productive of salutary consequences, as our army seems to be greatly inspirited by it. I am, etc.[17]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 23, 1776.

Parole Stamford. Countersign Norwalk.

Ebenezer Liffingwell being convicted of offering Violence to his superior Officer—of Cowardice and Misbehaviour before

[16] The omitted portions are practically verbatim repetitions of Washington's letter to Governor Trumbull, Sept. 23, 1776, *q. v.*

[17] The text is from Force's *American Archives.*

the Enemy, was ordered to suffer Death this day—The General from his former good Character and upon the intercession of the Adjutant General, against whom he presented his firelock, is pleased to pardon him, but declares that the next offender shall suffer Death without mercy.

Serjt. Major Hutton[18] is appointed Adjutant to Col. Mead's Regiment—Col Silliman's Brigade.

Mr. Charles Knowles is appointed Paymaster to Col Knox's Regiment of Artillery.

Col Douglass's Brigade Major being ordered in Arrest for "Neglect of duty, in not giving the Parole and Countersign to the Guards," Col Douglass is to appoint another to do the duty.

Colonels and commanding Officers of Regiments have neglected to make Reports of the examination of their Regiments after Plunder, they are now reminded of it, and will be mentioned in Orders, if they neglect it.

A Report is to be made at Head Quarters, as soon as possible, of the several officers under Arrest, that they may be tried—Colonels and commanding Officers of Regiments to attend to it.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 24, 1776.

Parole Bristol. Countersign Salem.

The Qr. Mr. Genl., and the Chief Engineer, are to mark the grounds, to morrow, on which the Barracks, and Huts, are to be built this side Kingsbridge—They are to call upon the General, previous to their setting out upon this business, for directions.

When the ground is marked out, the Quarter Master General is to cause the materials for building to be laid thereon as quick as possible.

[18] Christopher Hutton, of Col. Matthew Mead's Connecticut regiment.

The General is informed that in consequence of his recommendation of the 20th. Instant many Regiments have turned out very cheerfully to work, when others have sent few or no men on fatigue. the first he thanks for their Conduct, whilst the others are to be informed that their conduct will be marked—The General would have them recollect that it is for their own safety and self defence, these Works are constructing, and the sooner they are finished the sooner they will be able to erect warm and comfortable Barracks, or Huts for themselves to lodge in.

The Militia which came to the assistance of this Army, under the Command of Genl. Walcott are to hold themselves in readiness to return home; before they go, they are to return into the public Stores, every thing they drew from thence, such as Ammunition, Camp Kettles &c.

Joseph Jackson appointed Paymaster to Col Hutchinson's regiment.

Major Henly[19] Aid-de-Camp to Genl. Heath, whose Activity and Attention to duty, Courage and every other Quality, which can distinguish a brave and gallant Soldier, must endear to him every Lover of his Country, having fallen in a late Skirmish on Montresor's Island while bravely leading a party on—his Remains will be interr'd this afternoon, at five OClock, from the quarters of Major David Henly, acting Adjt. Genl. below the hill where the Redoubt is thrown up on the road.

The General thanks the Colonels, and commanding Officers of Regiments, for their care in examining the Tents, and Knapsacks of the Soldiers, after plunder—he directs that what has been found be sent to the House on the Road below Head Quarters, and that regimental Courts Martial immediately sit, to try every one who cannot prove that he came honestly by what is found in his possession—The Offenders to be punished, as soon

[19] Maj. Thomas Henly.

as the sentence is approved by the Colonel, or commanding Officer—As a little wholesome Severity now may put a stop to such ruinous practices in future, the General hopes a very strict Inquiry will be made, and no Favor shewn—The General does not admit of any pretence for plundering, whether it is Tory property taken beyond the lines, or not, it is equally a breach of Orders, and to be punished in the officer who gives Orders, or the Soldier who goes without.

Such Colonels, or commanding Officers of Regiments, as have not reported will be mentioned by Name in to morrow's Orders, if Reports are not made before.

A working Party of *1000* Men, properly officered, to parade to morrow, opposite Head Quarters, at Seven O'Clock—The Parade will be attended by some General Officers, who will put in Arrest any officer found delinquent in bringing his men in time.

A Field Officer, of the Regiment posted at Mount Washington, is to visit the Guards there carefully; the distance from the Lines not admitting the General Officer of the day to go up.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 24, 1776.

Sir: The post being about to depart, I have only time to add, That no event of importance has taken place on this side Hudson's River since my last of the 22d. instt.

The inclosed Letter received last Night from Genl Greene, who now commands in the Jerseys, will give Congress all the information I have respecting the evacuation of Powles Hook and the landing of the Enemy to possess It.[20]

I this minute obtained a Copy of the General return of our force, the first I have been able to procure for some time past,

[20] Greene's letter, dated Sept. 23, 1776, is filed with Washington's in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

which I do myself the honor of transmitting for the satisfaction of Congress. I am &ca.

P. S. The Thirteen Militia Regiments from Connecticut, being reduced to a little more than Seven Hundred Men Rank and file, fit for duty, I have thought proper to discharge the whole, to save the States the immense charge that would arise for officers pay. There are too, many Militia that have just come in and on their way from that State, none of which are provided with a Tent or a single Camp utensil.[21]

This distresses me beyond measure.[22]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Colonel Morris's, on the Heights of Harlem,
September 24,[23] 1776.

Sir: From the hours allotted to Sleep, I will borrow a few Moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters to Congress. I shall offer them, with that sincerity which ought

[21] In his journey to Staten Island, N. Y., John Adams noted (*Works*, vol. 3, p. 75) the straggling and loitering soldiers on the road and in the public houses and conceived "but a poor opinion of the discipline of our forces, and excited as much indignation as anxiety." Upon his return to Congress, at his instance, and through the Board of War, a resolution for enforcing and perfecting discipline in the army was adopted. "That the commander in chief of the forces of these states in the several departments, be directed to give positive orders to the brigadier generals and colonels, and all other officers in their several armies, that the troops under their command, may every day, be called together, and trained in arms, in order that officers and men may be perfected in the manual exercise and manœuvres, and inured to the most exemplary discipline, and that all officers be assured that the Congress will consider activity and success in introducing discipline into the army, among the best recommendations for promotion." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Sept. 19, 1776.) This officious resolution must have reached Washington before the 22d, and was the cause of the letter of the 24th, which was written by his own hand, and shows no sign of resentment at the criticism thus leveled against him by Adams and the Congress. The extreme difficulties to be overcome in obtaining even the semblance of discipline in such an army as Congress gave to Washington are described in the letters of Reed, now Adjutant General, who, soon after, sent in his resignation. John Sloss Hobart saw Washington on the evening of the 24th and spoke of him as "much indisposed."—*Ford*.

[22] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[23] This letter was actually written in the early morning hours of September 25. (See Washington's letter to Congress, Sept. 25, 1776, *post*.)

to characterize a man of candour; and with the freedom which may be used in giving useful information, without incurring the imputation of presumption.

We are now as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our Army;[24] the remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon that occasion last year, the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper advantages had been taken by the Enemy; added to a knowledge of the present temper and Situation of the Troops, reflect but a very gloomy prospect upon the appearance of things now, and satisfie me, beyond the possibility of doubt, that unless some speedy, and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost.

It is in vain to expect, that any (or more than a trifling) part of this Army will again engage in the Service on the encouragement offered by Congress. When Men find that their Townsmen and Companions are receiving 20, 30, and more Dollars, for a few Months Service, (which is truely the case) it cannot be expected; without using compulsion; and to force them into the Service would answer no valuable purpose. When Men are irritated, and the Passions inflamed, they fly hastely and chearfully to Arms; but after the first emotions are over, to expect, among such People, as compose the bulk of an Army, that they are influenced by any other principles than those of Interest, is to look for what never did, and I fear never will happen; the Congress will deceive themselves therefore if they expect it.

A Soldier reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for,

[24] The term of service for almost the whole army was to expire at or before the end of the year. Samuel Adams passed through New York on the 14th, and in a letter to John Adams (August 16) said he found "the General and his family in health and spirits; indeed, every officer and soldier appears to be determined. . . . I see now, more than ever I did, the importance of Congress attending immediately to enlistments for the next campaign. It would be a pity to lose your old soldiers. I am of opinion that a more generous bounty should be given,—twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land for three years at least."

hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations, but adds, that it is of no more Importance to him than others. The Officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and Family to serve his Country, when every Member of the community is equally Interested and benefitted by his Labours. The few therefore, who act upon Principles of disinterestedness, are, comparatively speaking, no more than a drop in the Ocean. It becomes evidently clear then, that as this Contest is not likely to be the Work of a day; as the War must be carried on systematically, and to do it, you must have good Officers, there are, in my Judgment, no other possible means to obtain them but by establishing your Army upon a permanent footing; and giving your Officers good pay; this will induce Gentlemen, and Men of Character to engage; and till the bulk of your Officers are composed of such persons as are actuated by Principles of honour, and a spirit of enterprize, you have little to expect from them.—They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like, and support the Characters of Gentlemen; and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low, and dirty arts which many of them practice, to filch the Public of more than the difference of pay would amount to upon an ample allowe. besides, something is due to the Man who puts his life in his hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the Sweets of domestic enjoyments. Why a Captn. in the Continental Service should receive no more than 5/. Curry per day, for performing the same duties that an officer of the same Rank in the British Service receives 10/. Sterlg. for, I never could conceive; especially when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires, upon the best terms, and the former can scarce procure them, at any Rate. There is nothing that gives a Man consequence, and renders him fit for

Command, like a support that renders him Independant of every body but the State he Serves.[25]

With respect to the Men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment; and for no shorter time than the continuance of the War, ought they to be engaged; as Facts incontestibly prove, that the difficulty, and cost of Inlistments, increase with time. When the Army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded the Men might have been got without a bounty for the War: after this, they began to see that the Contest was not likely to end so speedily as was immagined, and to feel their consequence, by remarking, that to get the Militia In, in the course of last year, many Towns were induced to give them a bounty. Foreseeing the Evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences which unavoidably would follow short Inlistments, I took the Liberty in a long Letter, written by myself (date not now recollected, as my Letter Book is not here) to recommend the Inlistments for and during the War; assigning such Reasons for it, as experience has since convinced me were well founded. At that time twenty Dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the Men for this term. But it will not do to look back, and if the present opportunity is slip'd, I am perswaded that twelve months more will Increase our difficulties fourfold. I shall therefore take the freedom of giving it as my opinion, that a good Bounty be immediately offered, aided by the proffer of at least 100, or 150 Acres of Land and a suit of Cloaths and Blankt, to each non-Comd. Officer and Soldier; as I have good authority for saying, that however high the Men's pay may appear, it is barely sufficient in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to

[25] See Washington's letter to Congress, Oct. 4, 1776, *post*. Ford quotes from General Greene's letter to Governor Cooke (October 3) on this point: "We want nothing but good officers to constitute as good an army as ever marched into the field. Our men are much better than the officers."

keep them in Cloaths, much less afford support to their Families. If this encouragement then is given to the Men, and such Pay allowed the Officers as will induce Gentlemen of Character and liberal Sentiments to engage; and proper care and precaution are used in the nomination (having more regard to the Characters of Persons, than the Number of Men they can Inlist) we should in a little time have an Army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent Materials to form one out of: but while the only merit an Officer possesses is his ability to raise Men; while those Men consider, and treat him as an equal; and (in the Character of an Officer) regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd; no order, nor no discipline can prevail; nor will the Officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination.[26]

To place any dependance upon Militia, is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff. Men just dragged from the tender Scenes of domestick life; unaccustomed to the din of Arms; totally unacquainted with every kind of Military skill, which being followed by a want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to Troops regularly train'd, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge, and superior in Arms, makes them timid, and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living, (particularly in the lodging) brings on sickness in many; impatience in all, and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes that it not only produces shameful, and scandalous Desertions

[26] "To attempt to introduce discipline and subordination into a new army must always be a work of much difficulty, but where the principles of democracy so universally prevail, where so great an equality and so thorough a levelling spirit predominates, either no discipline can be established, or he who attempts it must become odious and detestable, a position which no one will choose. It is impossible for any one to have an idea of the complete equality which exists between the officers and men who composed the greater part of our troops."—*Joseph Reed to Esther Reed (his wife)*, Oct. 11, 1776.

among themselves, but infuses the like spirit in others. Again, Men accustomed to unbounded freedom, and no controul, cannot brook the Restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and Government of an Army; without which, licentiousness, and every kind of disorder triumpantly reign. To bring Men to a proper degree of Subordination, is not the work of a day, a Month or even a year; and unhappily for us, and the cause we are Engaged in, the little discipline I have been labouring to establish in the Army under my immediate Command, is in a manner done away by having such a mixture of Troops as have been called together within these few Months.

Relaxed, and unfit, as our Rules and Regulations of War are, for the Government of an Army, the Militia (those properly so called, for of these we have two sorts, the Six Months Men and those sent in as a temporary aid) do not think themselves subject to 'em, and therefore take liberties, which the Soldier is punished for; this creates jealousy; jealousy begets dissatisfaction, and these by degrees ripen into Mutiny; keeping the whole Army in a confused, and disordered State; rendering the time of those who wish to see regularity and good Order prevail more unhappy than Words can describe. Besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at nought, and the constant fluctuation of things, deranges every plan, as fast as adopted.

These Sir, Congress may be assured, are but a small part of the Inconveniences which might be enumerated and attributed to Militia; but there is one that merits particular attention, and that is the expence. Certain I am, that it would be cheaper to keep 50, or 100,000 Men in constant pay than to depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally by Militia. The time the latter is in pay before and after they are in

Camp, assembling and Marching; the waste of Ammunition; the consumption of Stores, which in spite of every Resolution, and requisition of Congress they must be furnished with, or sent home, added to other incidental expences consequent upon their coming, and conduct in Camp, surpasses all Idea, and destroys every kind of regularity and œconomy which you could establish among fixed and Settled Troops; and will, in my opinion prove (if the scheme is adhered to) the Ruin of our Cause.

The Jealousies of a standing Army, and the Evils to be apprehended from one, are remote; and in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded; but the consequence of wanting one, according to my Ideas, formed from the present view of things, is certain, and inevitable Ruin; for if I was called upon to declare upon Oath, whether the Militia have been most serviceable or hurtful upon the whole; I should subscribe to the latter. I do not mean by this however to arraign the Conduct of Congress, in so doing I should equally condemn my own measures, (if I did not my judgment); but experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly, and decisively reprobates the practice of trusting to Militia, that no Man who regards order, regularity, and œconomy; or who has any regard for his own honour, Character, or peace of Mind, will risk them upon this Issue.[27]

[27] Congress had, before this letter reached it, resolved (September 16) on a bounty of $20 and 100 acres of land to each noncommissioned officer and private soldier; the commissioned officers were to receive bounties in land only, scaled according to rank. September 20 Congress resolved to raise a new army and provided for supplies, etc. In transmitting these resolves to the States, President Hancock made liberal use of this Washington letter, sometimes copying whole sentences verbatim. Ford quotes General Greene's letter of September 28 as more outspoken in opinion of where the blame should rest. "The policy of Congress has been the most absurd and ridiculous imaginable, pouring in militia-men who come and go every month. A military force established upon such principles defeats itself. . . . The Congress goes upon a penurious plan. The present pay of the officers will not support them, and it is generally determined by the best officers to quit the service, unless a more adequate provision is made for their support. The present establishment is not thought reputable. The Congress have never furnished the men voted by near one half, certainly by above a third. Had we numbers we need not have retreated from Long Island or New York. . . . We must have an army to meet the enemy everywhere, to act offensively

No less attention should be paid to the choice of Surgeons than other Officers of the Army; they should undergo a regular examination; and if not appointed by the Director Genl. and Surgeons of the Hospital, they ought to be subordinate to, and governed by his directions; the Regimental Surgeons I am speaking of, many of whom are very great Rascals, countenancing the Men in sham Complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving Bribes to Certifie Indispositions, with a view to procure discharges or Furloughs; but independant of these practices, while they are considered as unconnected with the Genl. Hospital there will be nothing but continual Complaints of each other: The Director of the Hospital charging them with enormity in their drafts for the Sick; and they him, for denying such things as are necessary. In short, there is a constant bickering among them, which tends greatly to the Injury of the Sick; and will always subsist till the Regimental Surgeons are made to look up to the Director Genl. of the Hospital as a Superior. Whether this is the case in regular Armies, or not, I cannot undertake to say; but certain I am there is a necessity for it in this, or the Sick will suffer; the Regimental Surgeons are aiming, I am persuaded, to break up the Genl. Hospital, and have, in numberless Instances, drawn for Medicines, Stores &ca. in the most profuse and extravagant manner, for private purposes.[28]

as well as defensively. Our soldiers are as good as ever were; and were the officers half as good as the men, they would beat any army on the globe of equal numbers."

In a letter to General Gates (October 14), General Lee expressed his opinion of Congress and of the army in a laconic but characteristic manner. "I write this scrawl," he says, "in a hurry. Colonel Wood will describe the position of our army, which, in my own breast, I do not approve. *Inter nos* Congress seem to stumble at every step. I have been very free in delivering my opinion to them. General Washington is much to blame in not menacing them with resignation, unless they refrain from unhinging the army by their absurd interference."

[28] On receiving this letter (September 30) a resolution was passed by Congress requesting the several States to appoint skillful surgeons and physicians to examine the surgeons and surgeons' mates who offered themselves to serve in the army or navy, and declaring that no commission should be issued to any who should not produce a certificate from such examiners that they were qualified for the duties of their office.

Another matter highly worthy of attention, is, that other Rules and Regulation's may be adopted for the Government of the Army than those now in existence, otherwise the Army, but for the name, might as well be disbanded. For the most attrocious offences, (one or two Instances only excepted) a Man receives no more than 39 Lashes; and these perhaps (thro' the collusion of the Officer who is to see it inflicted), are given in such a manner as to become rather a matter of sport than punishment; but when inflicted as they ought, many hardend fellows who have been the Subjects, have declared that for a bottle of Rum they would undergo a Second operation; it is evident therefore that this punishment is inadequate to many Crimes it is assigned to, as a proof of it, thirty and 40 Soldiers will desert at a time; and of late, a practice prevails, (as you will see by my Letter of the 22d) of the most alarming nature; and which will, if it cannot be checked, prove fatal both to the Country and Army; I mean the infamous practice of Plundering, for under the Idea of Tory property, or property which may fall into the hands of the Enemy, no Man is secure in his effects, and scarcely in his Person; for in order to get at them, we have several Instances of People being frightned out of their Houses under pretence of those Houses being ordered to be burnt, and this is done with a view of siezing the Goods; nay, in order that the villany may be more effectually concealed, some Houses have actually been burnt to cover the theft.

I have with some others, used my utmost endeavours to stop this horrid practice, but under the present lust after plunder, and want of Laws to punish Offenders, I might almost as well attempt to remove Mount Atlas.—I have ordered instant corporal Punishment upon every Man who passes our Lines, or is seen with Plunder, that the Offenders might be punished for disobedience of Orders; and Inclose you the proceedings of a

Court Martial held upon an Officer, who with a Party of Men had robbd a House a little beyond our Lines of a Number of valuable Goods; among which (to shew that nothing escapes) were four large Pier looking Glasses, Women's Cloaths, and other Articles which one would think, could be of no Earthly use to him. He was met by a Major of Brigade who ordered him to return the Goods, as taken contrary to Genl. Orders, which he not only peremptorily refused to do, but drew up his Party and swore he would defend them at the hazard of his Life; on which I ordered him to be arrested, and tryed for Plundering, Disobedience of Orders, and Mutiny; for the Result, I refer to the Proceedings of the Court; whose judgment appeared so exceedingly extraordinary,[29] that I ordered a Reconsideration of the matter, upon which, and with the Assistance of fresh evidence, they made Shift to Cashier him.

I adduce this Instance to give some Idea to Congress of the Currt. Sentiments and general run of the Officers which compose the present Army; and to shew how exceedingly necessary it is to be careful in the choice of the New Sett, even if it should take double the time to compleat the Levies. An Army formed of good Officers moves like Clock-Work; but there is no Situation upon Earth, less enviable, nor more distressing, than that Person's who is at the head of Troops, who are regardless of Order and discipline; and who are unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word the difficulties which have forever

[29] Washington's many difficulties in enforcing discipline in an Army which had to be handled carefully with an eye to reenlistments are pictured in the General Orders. The court decided that Ensign Matthew Macumber, of the Sixteenth Continental Infantry, was not guilty of plundering but was guilty of insubordination and disrespect to his superior officer. The sentence was that he apologize and be reprimanded before the regiment. The copy of the court's proceedings forwarded to Congress bears this note in Washington's writing: "It is to be observed that the Men who were to share the Plunder became the Evidences for the Prisoner G. W—n." (See General Orders, Sept. 22, 1776, *ante*.) On September 30 Congress directed that the court assign its reasons for the acquittal and that the same be forwarded to Congress. The court, however, attempted to justify its verdict in a report, dated October 7, which was forwarded to Congress by Washington on October 8.

surrounded me since I have been in the Service, and kept my Mind constantly upon the stretch; The Wounds which my Feelings as an Officer have received by a thousand things which have happened, contrary to my expectation and Wishes; the effect of my own Conduct, and present appearance of things, so little pleasing to myself, as to render it a matter of no Surprize (to me) if I should stand capitally censured by Congress; added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an Army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances; induces not only a belief, but a thorough conviction in my Mind, that it will be impossible unless there is a thorough change in our Military Systems for me to conduct matters in such a manner, as to give satisfaction to the Publick which is all the recompence I aim at, or ever wished for.[80]

Before I conclude I must apologize for the liberties taken in this Letter and for the blots and scratchings therein, not having time to give it more correctly. With truth I can add, that with every Sentiment of respect and esteem. I am etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 25, 1776.

Sir: Having wrote you fully on sundry important subjects this Morning, as you will perceive by the Letter which accompanies this, I mean principally now to inclose a Copy of a Letter,

[80] On September 20 Congress appointed Roger Sherman, Elbridge Gerry, and Francis Lewis a committee to visit camp "to enquire into the State of the Army, and the best means of supplying their wants." They reached camp the 24th and conferred with the general officers the 26th and 27th. Their report was rendered October 3. In the *Washington Papers* are 12 "Queries to be made at Head Quarters" with answers to the first two in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, which established the strength needed for the Army at 40,000, exclusive of the Flying Camp. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 3, 8, and 9, 1776.) The committee recommended that Brig. Gen. Thomas Mifflin should replace Col. Stephen Moylan at the head of the Quartermaster Department.

received from General Howe on Sunday Evening, with the lists of the Prisoners in his hands and of those in our possession belonging to the Army immediately under his command, and of my Answer, which were omitted to be put in the other.

His letter will discover to Congress his refusal to exchange Lord Stirling for Mr. McDonald, considering the latter, only as a Major. They will be pleased to determine how he is to be ranked in future.

The Number of Prisoners according to these returns, is greater than what we expected. However I am inclined to believe, that among those in the list from Long Island are several Militia of General Woodhull's party, who were never arranged in this Army. As to those taken on the 15th, they greatly exceed the number that I supposed fell into their hands in the retreat from the City. At the time that I transmitted an Account of that affair, I had not obtained returns and took the matter upon the Officers Reports. They are difficult to get with certainty at any time. In the skirmish of Monday sennight, they could not have taken but very few. Before I conclude, I shall take occasion to mention, that these returns, made with such precision, and the difficulty that will attend the proposed exchange on account of the dispersed and scattered state of the prisoners, in our hands, will clearly evince the necessity of appointing Commissarys and proper persons to superintend and conduct in such instances.[31] This I took the liberty of urging more than once, as well on Account of the propriety of the measure and the saving that would have resulted from it, as that the Prisoners might be treated with humanity and have their wants particularly attended to.

I would also observe, as I esteem it my duty, that this Army is in want of almost every necessary: Tents, Camp Kettles,

[31] On October 7 Congress resolved that a commissary of prisoners be appointed in each of the States and that the respective States make the appointments.

Blanketts and Clothes of all kinds; But what is to be done with respect to the two last Articles I know not, as the Term of Inlistment will be nearly expired by the time they can be provided. This may be exhibited as a further proof of the disadvantage attending the levying of an Army upon such a footing, as never to know how to keep them without injuring the Public, or incommoding the Men.

I have directed the Colonel or Commanding Officer of each Corps, to use his endeavours to procure such Cloathing as are absolutely necessary, but at the same time I confess that I do not know how they are to be got. I have the Honor etc.[32]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 25, 1776.

Parole Cumberland. Countersign Pitt.

Col. Sergeant is to send to the Provost Guard the Soldiers, who were with Ensign McCrumber, and charged with plundering at Harlem.

The Brigadiers who are in want of tents for their Brigades, are to meet at the Quarter Master General's this Afternoon, four O'Clock, and divide such as are on hand among them.

Such Regiments of Militia, as have returned, to the Quarter Master General, the Articles belonging to the public they have received; and to their respective Brigadiers, the Ammunition they have drawn, of which they are first to produce Certificates, are discharged, and may return home, as soon as they think proper.

The General hopes the commanding Officers, and all others, of those Regiments, will take care that no other Men mix with them when going off—and that particular Care be taken, that no Horses be carried away by the men, but what are certainly and properly employed in that service.

[32] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 26, 1776.

Parole Halifax. Countersign Georgia.

The Court Martial of which Col Magaw is President, having found that Lieut. Stewart,[33] struck Serjeant Philips,[34] but that he was provoked so to do by the latter, and acquitted him of "threatening the life of Col Silliman"—

The General approves the sentence, and orders Lieut. Stewart to be discharged from his arrest.

The same Court Martial having tried and convicted Lieut. Danl. Pelton, of Col Ritzema's Regiment, of leaving Camp, two days, and being absent without leave, the Court orders him to be mulcted of one Months pay—The General approves the Sentence, and directs that care be taken accordingly in the next Pay-Abstract.

Serjt. Philips of Capt. Hubbels Company, and Col Silliman's Regiment, tried by the same Court Martial for "Cowardice and leaving his party on the 17th. Instant," was acquitted; the General approves the sentence and orders him discharged.

The Regiments of Militia which composed the Brigades commanded by Cols. Douglas and Silliman, being dismissed; those Regiments are to join their former brigades.

Courts-Martial for the trial of Desertion, and other Crimes, not capital, are immediately to be formed in the several Brigades, and the sentences, when approved by the Brigadier, immediately executed.

Col Magaw being necessarily detained from the Court Martial, Col Ewing is to preside during his absence.

The General expects, and insists, that all the plunder, and other things, found in consequence of the examination lately made, be sent immediately to the White House, on the Road

[33] Lieut. John Steward (Stewart), of Thomas's Independent Maryland company.
[34] Sergt. William Phelps (Philips), of Silliman's Connecticut State regiment.

near Head Quarters, delivered to the Captain of the Guard to be deposited there, 'till farther Orders—Colonels, and commanding Officers of Regiments are to see that it is done immediately.

The officer commanding the Rangers may give passes to any of his own parties, but to none others.

Upon any Alarm, or Approach of the Enemy towards our lines, Genl. Mifflin, with his Brigade, is to possess our left-flank from the hollow-way, by Col Sergeant's late Encampment, to the point of Rocks, on the left-front of our lines; and 'till the Regiment commanded by Col. Weedon is brigaded, is to be joined by the same—Genl. McDougall's Brigade is to repair to the plains back of Genl. Mifflin, and be ready to support him or the picquet in the front as occasion may require—Genl. Bell's Brigade is to repair to the lines which cross the road by Col Moylan's lodging, and to extend their right-flank to the middle Redoubt by Mr. Kartright's house, occupying the same—Genl Wadsworth and Fellows are to take the remaining part of these lines, with the Redoubt therein on the North River—These three Brigades to defend these lines, or wait there for Orders—Genl. Heard's is to parade, and be ready to march wherever ordered—Genl. Putnam is to command in front of the lines by Mr. Kartright's—Genl. Spencer in the Rear of them.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL HUGH MERCER

Colonel Morris's at Harlem, September 26, 1776.

Dear Sir: If the Troops at this Post, can be prevailed upon to defend it as they should do, it must cost General Howe a great many Men to carry it, if he succeeds at all. If this should happen to be *his* Opinion there is scarce a doubt but that he will turn his thoughts another way, as inactivity is not to be expected from him. Whither his Operations may be directed is uncertain, perhaps an irruption into the Jerseys. Possibly he may

bend his course towards Philadela. (for I conceive that 2000 Men with the Assistance of their Shipping will effectually preserve New York against our whole Strength,) Or which in my Judgment is exceedingly probable, knowing that the Troops are drawn off from the Southern Colonies, he may detach a part of the Army to the Southward, for a Winter's Campaign, as was recommended to him last Fall by Lord Dunmore.[35]

In either of these Cases, it behoves us to keep the best look out, and to obtain the earliest intelligence possible of the Enemy's motions, and as it is now the current Opinion, that the Shipping are greatly thinned, I earnestly recommend to you the Necessity of having Sensible and Judicious Persons in different places to observe the movements of the Shipping, among others at the Neversinks, for if they should send out a fleet without our giving notice of it to Congress we shall be thought exceedingly remiss. In short, I intreat you to exert your best endeavours to obtain every useful Intelligence you possibly can of the Enemy's motions by Sea and Land, in doing this Money may be required, and do not spare it. Communicate every thing of Importance to me with dispatch and be assured that I am, etc.

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Colo. Morris's at Harlem, September 26, 1776.

Dear Sir: I should be glad if you would order Genl. Saltenstall to draw as much Powder as will compleat his Militia to

[35] Ford quotes two letters, written from New York City on September 26 and 28: "On the 23d Gen. Howe left this garrison 4,000 strong under the command of Gen. Robinson, and made a feint as if he intended attacking the rebels at King's Bridge with the main body of the army; previous measures had been taken to embark two squadrons, which was so privately done, that even the troops who were immediately engaged knew not their destination till they were landed at Perth Amboy, which they took without opposition, together with 500 prisoners."

"The army have, for these last two days, been under orders to hold themselves in readiness to march, but whither no one knows; some think it is to King's Bridge, while others think it is intended to cross the North River, and proceed through the Jerseys towards Philadelphia."

about fifteen or 18 Rounds a Man; as also Lead if they have it not, and Cartridge Paper that they may make their own Cartridges; at the sametime let him know, and desire him to Impress it strongly upon the Minds of his Men, that they must acct. for every Load which is not used in Action.

Be so good as to request, in my name, General Clinton's attendance at Head Quarters with you at Nine Oclock this forenoon on the business I mentioned to you yesterday. I am, etc.

[MS. H. S.]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Harlem Heights, September 26, 1776.

Sir: Your favor of the 20th. Inst. is duly received. The Several Regiments of Militia from Connecticut, lately Commanded by Genl. Wolcot, being reduced to almost nothing; one having returned under twenty and another short of thirty effective Men; they were yesterday discharged. I am full in Opinion with you, that some severe Examples ought to be made of the late deserters; for a Return of their Names, I must refer you to the Several Commanding Officers of the different Regiments. I hope these under Brigadier Saltonstall, may shew a better Spirit.

A proposal for an immediate exchange of Prisoners has been made by General Howe, agreeable to the Resolve of Congress. I am to request a return, as soon as possible, of all those in Connecticut, mentioning their Names and Ranks of all Commissioned Officers, and distinguishing particularly between those of the Army and Navy, as well privates as Officers. It appears to me, their being Marched to some Convenient Post and Coming by Water, will be much the most Convenient; at least it must save expence and will prevent their having a View of the different Towns and their Situations on the Sea Coasts. your Sentiments on the Subject, together with the return of the Prisoners, as early as possible, will much Oblige me. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: I Yesterday received your favor of the 23rd. Instant, the Nails wanted by General Gates cannot be sent from hence, our own demands being great and pressing and supplies but small.

In respect to building Barracks in the Town of Schenectady; if they are necessary, I suppose it must be done, however, I do not apprehend I have any power to give directions in the Case, nor do I mean to do it, you had better mention the matter to Congress and have their Opinion and Determination upon it.

A paper, of which the inclosed is a Copy, came to my Hands Yesterday Morning. This Account makes the Enemy's Force in Canada greater than what we supposed it to be, their Naval Force on the Lakes to surpass any thing we had an Idea of. The person who communicated it is not known, he however I believe is among those sent from Canada by Genl. Carleton and who have lately arrived at New York. I am in hopes it is a good deal exaggerated. I am, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 27, 1776.

Sir: I have nothing in particular to communicate to Congress by this days post, as our situation is the same as when I last wrote.

We are now sitting on the business the Committee came upon, which it is probable will be finished this Evening, the result they will duly report, upon their return.

I received Yesterday the inclosed Declaration by a Gentleman from Eliza. Town, who told me, many Copies were found in the possession of the Soldiers from Canada, that were landed

there a day or two ago by General Howe's permission. I shall not comment upon it. It seems to be founded on the plan that has been artfully pursued for some time past.[36] I have &ca.

P. S. The Account of the Troops &ca. in Canada comes from a person among the Prisoners sent from Canada. It was Anonymous, nor do I know the Intelligencer; according to him, the Enemy in that Quarter are stronger than we supposed and their Naval force much greater on the Lakes than we had any Ideas of.[37] I trust he has taken the matter upon the Enemy's report.[38]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 27, 1776.

Parole Hampton. Countersign Walton.

Lieut. Drake[39] of Col Philip's Regt., tried by a Court Martial, whereof Col Ewing was President for "Leaving the Regiment without permission of his commanding Officer, and being absent twenty days"—was acquitted.

The General approves the Sentence and orders him to be discharged.

The Returns are expected to morrow at Orderly time, which the Brigade Majors and Adjutants would do well to attend to.

The General is not more surprised than vexed, to find, that in spite of all his care to prevent unnecessary firing, and waste of Ammunition, that every afternoon produces fresh instances of the shameful discharge of Muskets, when there has been no rain to wet, or otherwise injure the loads—He now positively orders that there shall be no firing, without leave from the Brigadier of the Brigade, the men belong to; who are to inquire minutely into the necessity of the case, and whether the Pieces

[36] A broadside of Howe's declaration of September 19.

[37] A copy of this estimate of the British strength in Canada was also sent to Schuyler on September 27.

[38] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[39] Lieut. Henry Drake, of Phillips's New Jersey militia.

cannot be drawn without—The General also directs, that none but the Out-Sentries, shall ever have their Musquets loaded; and if those would be watchful, and vigilant on their posts, they need not load till occasion should require it.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 28, 1776.

Parole Stamford. Countersign Rye.

Mr. Finn Wadsworth is appointed Major of Brigade to Genl. Wadsworth.

William Higgins of Capt. Hamilton's Company of the Artillery convicted by a General Court Martial whereof Col Weedon is President of "Plundering and stealing"—ordered to be whipped Thirty-nine lashes.

The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed to morrow morning at the usual time and place.

A number of the new Rules and Regulations of the Army having come to hand, the several Brigades Major are to receive their proportion, and deliver them to commanding Officers of the several Regiments, who are immediately to cause them to be read to their Regiments, and made known to both Officers and Men so that there may be no pretence of ignorance.

It is with great Concern the General finds, that so many excuses are made by Field Officers, and others, when ordered on duty, especially on Picquet—By this means, active and willing Officers are discouraged—He hopes triffling Reasons and slight Complaints will not be urged to avoid duty when the utmost Vigilance and Care is necessary.

The General has also, in riding thro' the Camps, observed, a shameful waste of provision; large pieces of fine Beef not only thrown away, but left above ground to putrify—While such practices continue, troops will be sickly—The Colonels or commanding Officers of Regiments, who have not done it, are

immediately to appoint Camp-Colour-Men; and Officers who have spirit and zeal will see that all such Nuisances are removed—Some of the Camps nearest to Head Quarters are very faulty in this respect and will be pointed out in General Orders, if there is not a Reformation.

Stephen Moylan Esqr. having resigned his Office of Quarter Master General—Brigadier General Mifflin is appointed thereto 'till the pleasure of Congress is known.

The Quarter Master General will deliver to Genl. Spencer's order, such tents as are wanting for the Regiments in Wadsworth's and Fellows's Brigades.

That the approach of the Enemy to the front of our lines may be communicated as speedily as possible—Two Field Pieces are to be fired by Order of the Brigadier of the day, at the Redoubt on the road by Col Moylan's—This to be repeated by two others at Head Quarters, and the like number at Mount-Washington.

Col Shee is to take charge of Genl Mifflin's Brigade till further Orders.

Genl. Saltanstall is to order in four of the Militia Regiments, under his command, who are to encamp on the hill opposite to Fort-Washington, towards the point opposite to the Encampment on the other side Harlem River.

The General desires that the several Works, in which we are now engaged may be advanced as fast as possible, as it is essentially necessary.

In future, when an Officer is ordered on duty, and through Illness, or any other private Reason, cannot attend, he is to procure one of equal Rank, to do the duty for him, unless some extraordinary reason, should occasion an application to Head Quarters; otherwise a regular Roster can never be kept.

The Brigade Majors are to furnish the Chief Engineer, with a detail of the men, from their respective Brigades, ordered for

fatigue—this is to be left at his Office near Head-Quarters, and when any alteration is made, they are to give him a new detail.

Major Bicker[40] is ordered to attend the Works and be excused from other duty.

Any Soldier detected in cutting any Abbatis, without Orders from the Chief Engineer, is to be sent to the Provost-Guard, and tried by a General Court Martial.—Officers are desired to put a Stop to so dangerous a practice immediately.

Fatigue Men are to breakfast before they go to Parade, No man to be allowed to return hereafter to his Tent or Quarters on this account.

The building up Tents with Boards, is a practice peculiar to this Army, and in our present situation cannot be indulged, without the greatest Injury to the service—The Boards brought into Camp are for Floors to the Tents, and officers will do well, immediately to prevent their being applied to any other use.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 28, 1776.

Sir: Being about to cross the North River this morning, in order to view the posts opposite [Mount Washington] and the grounds between that and Powles Hook, I shall not add much more, than that I have been honored with your favor of the 24th: and its several inclosures and that since my Letter of Yesterday no important event has taken place.[41]

[40] Maj. Henry Bicker, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He was transferred to the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment Oct. 25, 1776; promoted to lieutenant colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment Dec. 5, 1776; colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment June 6, 1777; retired July 1, 1778.

[41] Before September 23 General Greene had been placed in command on the Jersey side of the North River. The Flying Camp, under General Mercer, was stationed in detachments at Newark Ferry, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Amboy; each detachment was supported by two pieces of artillery, except that at Amboy, where there was four pieces and over 1,700 men.

As Col: Hugh Stephenson of the Rifle Regiment ordered lately to be raised, is dead, according to the information I have received, I would beg leave to recommend to the particular notice of Congress, Captain Daniel Morgan, just returned among the Prisoners from Canada, as a fit and proper person to succeed to the vacancy occasioned by his Death. The present Field Officers of the Regiment cannot claim any right in preference to him, because he ranked above them as a Captain when he first entered the service; His Conduct as an Officer on the expedition with General Arnold last fall, his intrepid behavior in the Assault on Quebec when the brave Montgomery fell;—the inflexible attachment he professed to our Cause during his imprisonment and which he perseveres in; added to these his residence in the place Col: Stevenson came from and his Interest and influence in the same circle and with such men as are to compose such a Regiment; all in my Opinion entitle him to the favor of Congress, and lead me to believe, that in his promotion, the States will gain a good and valuable Officer for the sort of Troops he is particularly recommended to command.

Should Congress be pleased to appoint Capt. Morgan in the instance I have mentioned, I would still beg leave to suggest the propriety and necessity of keeping the matter close and not suffering it to transpire, until he is exonerated from the parole he is under. His acceptance of a commission under his present circumstances, might be construed a violation of his Engagement, and if not, the difficulty attending his exchange might be increased: The Enemy perhaps would consider him as a Field Officer, of which we have but very few in our hands and none that I recollect of that rank.[42] I have &ca.[43]

[42] Congress commissioned Morgan colonel of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment on Nov. 12, 1776, but he was not exchanged until 1777. He joined the Army at Morristown, N. J., late in March; was appointed brigadier general Oct. 13, 1780; was thanked and presented with a medal by Congress Mar. 9, 1781, for his victory at Cowpens, S. C., on January 17 of that year.

[43] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft but are not in the letter sent.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 29, 1776.

Sir: I have been favored with a Letter from his Excellency General Howe of the 21st. instant on the Subject of an Exchange of Prisoners both Officers and Privates. To carry this into Execution it is necessary that the Numbers on both Sides should be exactly ascertained; in order to determine this, General Howe sent me a List of the Officers and Privates of the 42d and 71st. Regimts. of which the inclosed is a Copy. But adds "it is not so correct as I could wish having received no regular Returns of the 42d. and 71st. Regiments taken this year, but beg leave to refer you to Lt. Col: Campbell of the 71st. to rectify any omissions that may be"; I have therefore to desire, that you would as soon as possible make the proper additions or Alterations and return the same to me. I am Sir, etc.

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 29, 1776.

Gentn.: Genl. Howe having signified to me, a desire of making a general exchange of Prisoners, both Officers and Privates; it becomes necessary to have an exact return of the numbers in our possession.—You will therefore be pleased, to have all the Continental Prisoners of War (belonging to the land Service) in the different Towns in your State, collected and brought together to some convenient place, from whence they may be removed hither when a Cartel is fully settled. When they are collected, you will please to have made out, and transmit to me, an exact return of the names of the Commissioned and Staff Officers, their Ranks and the Corps to which they belong; the names of the Non Commissioned and privates need not be

mentioned, their Numbers will be Sufficient. As it will be more convenient to send them by Water than by land, which may always be safely effected, by means of a Flag; I think you had better order the Prisoners to some place contiguous to a Port, there to remain till you hear further from me. As I apprehend the Number of Prisoners in the State of New hampshire to be too small to make up a freight for a Vessel; I have directed, if that should be the Case, that they would be sent to your State, that they may come forward with your Prisoners. you will be pleased to forward the Inclosed to Lieut. Colo Campbell of the 71st Regt. I am not certain where he is stationed, but think it is at Reading. I have the Honor to be etc.

P. S. Be pleased also to make a return of the Prisoners belonging to the British Navy, with the names and Ranks of the Officers. Inclosed you have a Letter from Capt Campbell[44] of the 71st Regt. to me; as he seems to acknowledge his Error and promises a more circumspect behaviour in future, I could wish you would consider his Case, and if you think proper admit him to his parole again.[45]

To DEPUTY GOVERNOR WILLIAM BRADFORD[46]

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 29, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your two favors of the 14th and 23d Inst.; and am to return you my thanks for the Measures you have taken, to forward the two Continental Battalions, from your State. In respect to the Exchange of the Persons you mention, I apprehend it Cannot be effected, till a general one takes place. This I am trying to carry into execution as well

[44] Capt. Patrick(?) Campbell.
[45] Practically the same letter was sent to the Legislature of New Hampshire.
[46] Of Rhode Island.

with the Naval, as the Land Service; and, therefore, must request the favor of your State, to make out and transmit me a Return, as soon as possible, of all Continental Prisoners in their hands; distinguishing the names and Ranks of the Commissioned and Staff Officers, and the Corps to which they belong, and the Number of non Commissioned and Privates; observing the same Rule in regard to those in the Sea Service. It will be well to have the whole Collected at one or two Convenient places, in order that they may be sent forward, as soon as the Plan is properly digested, of which I shall advise you, as soon as I obtain the Return.

I have wrote to the other Eastern States upon the same Subject; and to me it appears, that the Prisoners with you had better join those in Connecticut, that they may come together. I would recommend your writing to Governor Trumbull, for Information where their Prisoners are to be Assembled, and for his Sentiments in this Instance. It also seems advisable, that they should come by water rather than by land; but of this you will have due Notice, as I mean to Settle upon some regular Mode with the Admiral, and General Howe, against the time I am furnished with the Returns of the States. I have the honor to be, etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 29, 1776.

Parole Fairfield. Countersign Leyden.

Ensigns Fosdick and Chipman[47] of Col Webb's Regiment but lately in a Detachment of Rangers under Capt. Holmes,[48] having been tried by a General Court Martial whereof Col Weedon was President for "Abusive language to their officers—

[47] Ensigns Thomas Fosdick and Benoni Chipman.
[48] Capt. Thomas(?) Holmes.

Mutiny and Disobedience of orders"—They are convicted of giving abusive language to their Officers, and ordered to be reprimanded for their Conduct, before the officers of Col Webb's Regiment.

The General approves the sentence and orders them to join their Regiment, that it may be carried into execution.

As there is the greatest appearance of bad Weather, the General directs and begs that the Officers would have a special Care of the Arms and Ammunition, wherever their is a convenient Cover for either—Bell-Tents, or pointed Tents to have the Arms and Ammunition put into them.

He also directs that the several Brigades as soon as the Weather admits, be marched down to their Alarm Posts, as fixed in the Orders of the 26th. that the troops may know how to repair to them and defend them to the best advantage—And that this be repeated, until both Officers and Men, are well acquainted with the ground and the posts.

From some discoveries made yesterday, there is reason to think, the Enemy meditate a speedy and general Attack; it is therefore of great consequence, that we should be well prepar'd in all respects to meet it.

A Court Martial consisting of the following Members, are to meet to morrow at ten O'Clock, at the White House near Head Quarters, for the Trial of Capt. Weisner[49] and Capt. Scott for "Cowardice and Misbehaviour in the Attack made upon Montresor's Island on the morning of the 23rd. Instant"—

Brigadier Genl. [Rezin Beall] President.

Col [Robert] Magaw, Col [Silas] Newcomb, Lt. Col. [Daniel] Brodhead, Major [Ezra] Putnam, Major [Edward] Mott, Capt. [Ebenezer] Winship, Col [Jonathan] Holman, Lt Col [Lambert] Cadwallader, Lt. Col [Giles] Russell, Major

[49] Capt. John Wisner.

[William] Hopewell, Capt. [John] Beatty, Capt. [ ] Gillet, Members.[50]

All Evidences are directed to be punctual in their attendance.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 30, 1776.

Parole Norfolk. Countersign York.

The movements of the Enemy indicating a speedy Attack, the officers of the several Regiments, of all Ranks, are to be very attentive to the state of the Arms and Ammunition of their respective regiments, and to be particularly alert in Case of Alarm.

The Order of yesterday, with respect to the Troops marching to their Alarm Posts, and making themselves acquainted with the Guard, is to be carried into execution immediately.

Ammunition Boxes in each Regiment, not having Ammunition in them, are to be collected that they may be filled—Commanding Officers of Regiments will send them to their respective Brigadier's Quarters immediately.

All the Troops are every Morning to be *under Arms* a little before break of day—and continue 'till Sun-rise, when they may be dismissed—As the preservation of our Country may depend very much on a strict obedience to this Order, it is

[50] The court assembled (September 30), but with Capt. Alexander Graydon, of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, and Capt. Christopher Stuart, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, as additional members, apparently in place of Lieutenant Colonel Brodhead and Captain Gillet. Col. Jonathan Holman was not a member. The proceedings are entirely concerned with Wisner, and the record ignores Scott. The sentence was that Wisner, of Nicolls's New York levies, be cashiered. Washington was astounded and informed the court, through Adjutant General Reed, that the verdict for such an offense should have been either death or acquittal. The letter of the court to Adjutant General Reed, justifying the verdict, is signed by all the court and does not allude to Capt. John Budd Scott, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, who is noted in Heitman's Register as having been cashiered November 2 and gone over to the British shortly thereafter. The letter of the court, dated Oct. 6, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

hoped that commanding Officers of Brigades and Regiments will pay a special attention to it.

A working party of 1200 Men, exclusive of those at Mount Washington, to parade at the usual place, at seven OClock in the morning, properly officered, for the Engineer's department—Fellows's and Wadsworth's Brigades to take their tools at Quarter Master Stone's quarters, nigh to Genl. Spencer's quarters. Major Clift and Capt. Parsons[51] will attend them. Col Weedon's Regt. will take their Orders from Lt. Col. Marshall.[52] The Overseers of the works will attend at the Engineer's Office every morning, to receive their Orders and parties. The number of fatigue men not to be lessened till further orders. The Engineer must have a list of the several Brigades, and the number of men they furnish for the works, or he never can proportion the men to the works in a proper manner.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 30, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the Honor of addressing you last, nothing of importance has transpired, tho' from some Movements Yesterday on the part of the Enemy, it would seem as if some thing was Intended.

The inclosed memorial from Lieut. Colonel Shephard[53] of the 4th. Regiment, I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress and shall only add, that I could wish they would promote him to the command of the Regiment and send him a commission, being a good and valuable officer, and especially as the vacancy is of a pretty long standing and I have not had

[51] Maj. Waterman Clift, of Selden's Connecticut regiment, and Capt. Hezekiah Parsons, of Sage's Connecticut regiment.

[52] Lieut. Col. Thomas Marshall, of the Third Virginia Regiment. He was promoted to colonel Feb. 21, 1777; resigned on December 4; reentered the service, and was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., May 12, 1780.

[53] Lieut. Col. William Shepard (Shephard, Shepherd, Sheperd), of the Third Continental Infantry. He was promoted to colonel Jan. 1, 1777, to rank from May 4, 1776; retired Jan. 1, 1783.

nor has he any intelligence from Colo. Learned[54] himself, who had the command and who obtained a discharge on account of his indisposition, of his design to return. I have also inclosed a Letter from Captain Ballard,[55] which Congress will please to determine on, the Subject being new and not within my Authority. I have &ca.

P. S: A Commission was sent for Col: Learned which is now in my hands, having received no application or heard from him since it came.[56]

To THE BOARD OF WAR AND ORDNANCE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, September 30, 1776.

Gentlemen: Having considered the inclosed Memorial,[57] which you were pleased to transmit for my advice thereon, I beg leave to inform you, that in my Opinion, the service will be most advanced in general cases, by directing promotions in a Regimental line. However, I should think this had better be practised than Resolved on; always exercising a right of promotion on Account of extraordinary Merit, or preventing a succession to Office where it is wanting, and the person claiming unfit for it. I have the Honor to be etc.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 30, 1776.

Sir: Having received authentic advices from Long Island, that the Enemy are recruiting a great number of Men with much success, and Collecting large Quantities of Stock throughout

[54] Col. Ebenezer Learned, of the Third Continental Infantry.

[55] Capt. Robert Ballard, of the First Virginia Regiment. He became a major, then lieutenant colonel, and finally resigned July 4, 1779. His letter, dated Sept. 26, 1776, requesting leave to resign, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[56] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[57] From the second lieutenants of the First Virginia Regiment. The memorial was dated April 14, is unsigned, and is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

the Island for their Support; I have directed Brigadier Genl Clinton forthwith to repair to Fairfield to meet Genl. Lincoln, on his march hither with a part of the Troops lately Voted by the Massachusetts State, to reinforce this Army; in order to concert with him an expedition to the Island, to check and suppress, if possible, a practice so injurious and detrimental to our Cause. These Gentn. will wait on you for your advice in the Matter, if time and the Situation of things will admit of it, and with a view of obtaining such Aid as you and they may judge necessary to facilitate the Enterprize. However, if it should not be in their Power, personally, to attend you, I must take the Liberty of requesting your good offices upon this Occasion, and that you will afford them every Assistance that you conveniently can and they may require, either in Men, Vessels, &c. for carrying their Scheme into execution.

It is absolutely necessary, that the Measures of the Enemy should be effectually counteracted in this Instance, or, in a little time, they will levy no inconsiderable Army of our own People. The influence of their Money and their artifices have already passed the Sound, and several have been detected of late, who had enlisted to serve under their banner and the particular Command of Major Rogers.[58]

Being in haste, and having the fullest confidence that your favors will not be wanting in this Instance, I have only time to add, that, I have the honor to be &ca.

To LUND WASHINGTON

Col. Morris's, on the Heights of Harlem,
September 30, 1776.

Dear Lund: Your letter of the 18th, which is the only one received and unanswered, now lies before me. The amazement which you seem to be in at the unaccountable measures which

[58] Maj. Robert Rogers.

have been adopted by ——[59] would be a good deal increased if I had time to unfold the whole system of their management since this time twelve months. I do not know how to account for the unfortunate steps which have been taken but from that fatal idea of conciliation which prevailed so long—fatal, I call it, because from my soul I wish it may [not] prove so, though my fears lead me to think there is too much danger of it. This time last year I pointed out the evil consequences of short enlistments, the expenses of militia, and the little dependence that was to be placed in them. I assured [Congress] that the longer they delayed raising a standing army, the more difficult and chargeable would they find it to get one, and that, at the same time that the militia would answer no valuable purpose, the frequent calling them in would be attended with an expense, that they could have no conception of. Whether, as I have said before, the unfortunate hope of reconciliation was the cause, or the fear of a standing army prevailed, I will not undertake to say; but the policy was to engage men for twelve months only. The consequence of which, you have had great bodies of militia in pay that never were in camp; you have had immense quantities of provisions drawn by men that never rendered you one hour's service (at least usefully), and this in the most profuse and wasteful way. Your stores have been expended, and every kind of military [discipline?] destroyed by them; your numbers fluctuating, uncertain, and forever far short of report—at no one time, I believe, equal to twenty thousand men fit for duty. At present our numbers fit for duty (by this day's report) amount to 14,759, besides 3,427 on command, and the enemy within stone's throw of us. It is true a body of militia are again ordered out, but they come without any conveniences and soon return. I discharged a regiment the other day that had in it fourteen rank and file fit for duty only,

[59] The word "Congress" is omitted in the manuscript.

and several that had less than fifty. In short, such is my situation that if I were to wish the bitterest curse to an enemy on this side of the grave, I should put him in my stead with my feelings; and yet I do not know what plan of conduct to pursue. I see the impossibility of serving with reputation, or doing any essential service to the cause by continuing in command, and yet I am told that if I quit the command inevitable ruin will follow from the distraction that will ensue. In confidence I tell you that I never was in such an unhappy, divided state since I was born. To lose all comfort and happiness on the one hand, whilst I am fully persuaded that under such a system of management as has been adopted, I cannot have the least chance for reputation, nor those allowances made which the nature of the case requires; and to be told, on the other, that if I leave the service all will be lost, is, at the same time that I am bereft of every peaceful moment, distressing to a degree. But I will be done with the subject, with the precaution to you that it is not a fit one to be publicly known or discussed. If I fall, it may not be amiss that these circumstances be known, and declaration made in credit to the justice of my character. And if the men will stand by me (which by the by I despair of), I am resolved not to be forced from this ground while I have life; and a few days will determine the point, if the enemy should not change their plan of operations; for they certainly will not—I am sure they ought not—to waste the season that is now fast advancing, and must be precious to them. I thought to have given you a more explicit account of my situation, expectation, and feelings, but I have not time. I am wearied to death all day with a variety of perplexing circumstances—disturbed at the conduct of the militia, whose behavior and want of discipline has done great injury to the other troops, who never had officers, except in a few instances, worth

the bread they eat. My time, in short, is so much engrossed that I have not leisure for corresponding, unless it is on mere matters of public business.

I therefore in answer to your last Letter of the 18th shall say

With respect to the chimney, I would not have you for the sake of a little work spoil the look of the fireplaces, tho' that in the parlor must, I should think, stand as it does; not so much on account of the wainscotting, which I think must be altered (on account of the door leading into the new building,) as on account of the chimney piece and the manner of its fronting into the room.

The chimney in the room above ought, if it could be so contrived, to be an angle chimney as the others are: but I would not have this attempted at the expence of pulling down the partition.—The chimney in the new room should be exactly in the middle of it—the doors and every thing else to be exactly answerable and uniform—in short I would have the whole executed in a masterly manner.

You ought surely to have a window in the gable end of the new cellar (either under the Venetian window, or one on each side of it).

Let Mr. Herbert[60] know that I shall be very happy in getting his brother exchanged as soon as possible, but as the enemy have more of our officers than we of theirs, and some of ours have long been confined (and claim the right of being first exchanged,) I do not know how far it may be in my power at this time, to comply with his desires.

Remember me to all our neighbors and friends, particularly to Colo. Mason, to whom I would write if I had time to do it

[60] William Herbert, of Alexandria, Va. His brother was probably Thomas Herbert, a captain in the Pennsylvania Musket Battalion, who was taken prisoner at the Battle of Long Island; was exchanged in November, 1776; became a captain in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment; resigned in February, 1777.

fully and satisfactorily. Without this, I think the correspondence on my part would be unavailing—I am etc.[61]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, September 30, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favors of the 20th. and 25th., with their several inclosures I received this Morning. The Letters for Congress, with the rest of the papers, I shall transmit them by the earliest Opportunity. I cannot conceive that their Resolution of the 14th. was calculated or designed in the smallest degree to give you offence. The application for Stores had been made as a requisition from Genl. Gates, which I presume occasioned the Resolve, ordering 'em to be sent to him. Also the Words "for the use of the Northern Army," Nothing is to be inferred from them. Whenever Stores are sent to any Department, It is said always for the use of the Army there.

I am greatly obliged by the measures you have taken to provide us with Boards, as they are so Material and so difficult to procure. Your assurances to execute any Commands I may have Occasion to impose upon you, when out of the Military line, call for a return of my warmest acknowledgements, these I tender you and of these I beg your acceptance.

Since my Letter of the 27th., nothing of importance has occurred. Things remain nearly in the Situation they then were. Yesterday there were some small movements on the part of the Enemy, but as yet they have attempted nothing, nor have

[61] The text is from Ford, who took it from the *National Intelligencer* of October, 1862, from a copy furnished by Cassius F. Lee, jr. Ford, doubtful of the exactness of the text, addressed an inquiry to Mr. Lee, who confirmed the authenticity of his version, though he admitted that he had not followed the original so accurately as he would were it then in his hands. The letter of Aug. 20, 1775 (which puzzled Ford, in connection with this one of Sept. 30, 1776), in the writing of Washington, is in the *Washington Papers*.

I been able to find out their design. A little time I suppose must shew what plans they mean to pursue for the remainder of the Campaign. I am &c—

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN[62]

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
September 30, 1776.

Sir: Your letter of the 28th. Instt. noticing me, the forwardness of the Troops under your Command was this day handed me by Major Turner.[63] On receipt of this, you'll please to Halt your Men 'till a Conference with General Clinton, who waits on to advise with you, and determine on a Secret Expedition to Long Island, which if properly conducted, I have no doubt will be attended with Success and be exceedingly beneficial to the United States. To carry into Execution the proposed plan I must request a Sufficient Number of the Militia from your State, making choice of (both Officers and Men) those which may be depended on.[64] I am, etc.

P. S. You'll be pleased to return to Fairfield with General Clinton to consult on the above Subject.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE CLINTON

Head Quarters on Harlem Heights, Col. Morris's,
September 30, 1776.

Sir: Take with you Leiutt. Colo. [65] and proceed immediately to Fairfield, and there in Consultation with Genl.

[62] Lincoln had been appointed a major general of Massachusetts Militia by that State in May, 1776.

[63] Maj. William(?) Turner. He had been aide to Gates in 1776; later a colonel of Massachusetts Militia.

[64] Massachusetts had ordered out one-fifth of her militia to march immediately to New York, except one battalion which was ordered to Rhode Island to replace the Continental regiment withdrawn from there to New York. New Hampshire ordered out a thousand men to serve until December 1 under the command of Washington.

[65] Name left blank in manuscript. Force, in his *American Archives,* inserts the name Hurlbut, meaning Lieut. Col. John Hurlbert, of the New York Militia.

Lincoln of the Massachusetts Bay, Mr. Hobart[66] of this State and Lieutt.-Colo. Livingston,[67] if you can meet with him, concert an Expedition to Long Island, for the purpose of Aiding the Inhabitants in removing or destroying the Stock, Grain &c. which must otherwise fall into the Hands of the Enemy.

This Expedition is to be performed under the Command of such Officers as General Lincoln and yourself may fix upon and by the Troops from Massachusetts Bay, aided by the three Continental Companies commanded by Colo. Livingston.

If there is a possibility of your seeing Governor Trumbull, without too great a delay of time, I shall much approve of your consulting him upon this Occasion previous to your Concerting any plan, but if this cannot be done conveniently, you will forward my Letter with your reasons for not doing so, and a Request of such assistance from the State of Connecticut, as you shall find Necessary to apply for.

Dispatch is essentially necessary to the Success of such an Enterprize and Secrecy in obtaining Craft for the Transportation of the Troops across the sound, will contribute not a little towards it. Circumstances and Information must direct you to the Number of Men Necessary for such an Expedition as this, and therefore I shall not biass your Judgments by any Order or Opinion of mine upon the Occasion, but leave this matter wholly to yourselves, with earnest and best wishes for Success.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 1, 1776.

Sir: I have the Honor of your favor of the 27th Ulto. and Note the Contents. The Row Gallies belonging to your State, together with those the property of the United States, and all

[66] John Sloss Hobart.
[67] Lieut. Col. Henry Beekman Livingston.

other Vessels, on the approach of the Men of War, ran up the North River, under cover of the Battery on Mount Washington, from whence it is now impossible to remove them. As they are now posted, they are serviceable to us, by preventing a Communication with the Ships; and keeping out Row Guards by Night, to give us timely Notice of the approach, or any movements of the Enemy. To take from them their Crew, would be rendering them entirely useless, and to rob them of their Weapons would dispirit the Men; however if it should be thought advisable, after weighing the above Circumstances to have the Crew ordered to Connecticut, or any of the Arms or other Weapons on board to be sent there your Orders shall be attended to. The situation of the Enemy's Ships is very different at this time, from what it was before the evacuation of New York. we then had the Command of a narrow Pass, communicating from the Sound to the East River, commonly called Hell Gate; which is now in their possession, two of their Ships came thro' yesterday; one I think a Transport, the other a Frigate mounting 24 Guns.

October 3.

Since the above, I am honored with yours of the 28th, inclosing the Petition from the Gentlemen sent from this State on Parole to Connecticut. They were looked upon as favourers to Govr. Tryon and the British Troops, and were removed, to prevent giving any Intelligence or otherways aiding the Enemy's of our Country. It was intended, that when the Theatre of Action was removed, they might return; but that at present is not the case, nor do I think it prudent they should be permitted to return, during our present Situation; as undoubtedly they may have it in their power, to give Information concerning your State &c. which might be prejudicial to the General good. They particularly mention in their petition, "that they

were removed from Long Island into Connecticut, until such time as the Situation and State of Affairs there, should admit of their Return to their respective Families again." You will be pleased to inform them, I agree with you in sentiment, that that Period is not arrived. There is no material difference in our Situation since I last wrote you. the Enemy have nearly Compleated their Works from the North to the East River, as the Season is far advanced, we cannot reasonably expect a State of Inactivity; but should they attempt to dislodge us from our present Quarters, I am in hopes to defeat their designs and give a favorable Account to the Public of the Conduct of the Troops under my Command. I have the honor to be, etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 1, 1776.

Parole Spotswood. Countersign Gates.

The Picquet duty being too severe on the few Brigadiers who are now here; after this day, the Brigadier General of the day is not expected to lay out on picquet—He will attend on the parade, march off the Guards; see them properly posted; visit them twice in the day, and at day-break in the morning—The Colonel being the immediate commanding officer of the picquet, will be very vigilant to prevent surprise; give immediate Notice to the Brigadier, of any approach of the enemy, or other extraordinary occurrences.

James McCormick of Capt. Farrington's Company, Col Sergeant's Regiment, having been tried and convicted by a Court Martial whereof Col Lasher was President of "Desertion and Mutiny"—is ordered to suffer Death, on the 8th. and 5th. Articles of War—The General approves the sentence, and orders him to be hang'd to morrow at 11 O'Clock—The troops off duty are to be paraded on the Grand Parade at that time.

Capt. Marony, late Provost Marshal, having absented himself from Camp without leave, is suspended, and Thomas Bryan appointed in his stead—He is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

No Officer is on any pretence to leave the Camp, without permission in writing from the Commander in Chief; one of the Major Generals, through their respective Brigadiers, or commanding officers.

The General also thinks it proper to acquaint the officers and soldiers, who have stayed and faithfully attended to their duty, that he has wrote to the respective States, to order back all officers, and soldiers, who have absented themselves with, or without leave; and that he will take the most effectual measures for the purpose. From the movements of the Enemy, and other corroborating Circumstances, to say nothing of the advanced season, and the necessity which must induce them to bring on a decisive Engagement; the General has abundant reason to believe, that an Attack may be hourly expected—He exhorts every commanding Officer therefore of Corps, to pay particular attention to the state of the Arms and Ammunition of their men; that nothing may be amiss whenever we are called upon, however sudden it may happen—At the same time he once more recommends, to every officer and soldier, the importance of the cause they are engaged in, and the necessity there is of their behaving like men, who are contending for every thing that freemen should value—He assures the whole, that it is his fixt determination to defend, the Posts we now hold, to the last extremity; and nothing but unparalelled Cowardice can occasion the loss of them, as we are superior in number, and have a better Cause to contend in, than the enemy have—He further declares, that any spirited behaviour, in Officers, or Soldiers, shall meet with its reward, at the same

time that Misbehaviour and Cowardice, shall find exemplary punishment.

Every Brigadier, or Officer commanding Brigade, is hereby enjoined and ordered, to select some good officers to be in the Rear of their Battalions, and these Officers are positively ordered to shoot any Officer, or Soldier, who shall presume to quit his Ranks, or retreat, unless the Retreat is ordered by proper Authority; And to prevent the confusion which is occasioned by every person's undertaking to give, or carry Orders, none are to be looked upon as valid, that are not delivered in the manner mentioned in the Orders of the 7th. Ultimo.

The Militia if they have not already done it, are to get completed with as much Powder, Ball and Cartridge Paper, as will make 20 Rounds of Cartridges.

That no man, either officer or soldier, may plead ignorance of these Orders, the Colonels, or commanding Officers of Corps, are to take especial care that they be read to the whole, as they will answer the contrary: The Adjutant General is to transmit Copies thereof to Major Genl. Heath and Greene, that the whole Army may be apprised thereof; the General being determined to punish Cowardice, the instant it happens, for the sake of example.

Major Colbourne[68] is appointed to command the Rangers, lately under Col Knowlton—he is to take Orders from General Putnam, to whom they are to make daily reports.

AFTER ORDERS

The following troops to parade at 5. O'Clock, on the Grand Parade, and there receive Orders from Genl. Putnam.

Light Infantry of the Pennsylvania Battalions.

[68] Maj. Andrew Colburn, of the Fourth Continental Infantry. He was wounded at Harlem Plains, N. Y., in the same skirmish in which Knowlton was killed; lieutenant colonel of the Third New Hampshire Regiment in November, 1776; died of wounds received at Stillwater, N. Y., Sept. 28, 1777.

Genl. Mifflin's Brigade to furnish a Lieut. Colonel and 300 Men.

Genl. Wadsworth's Brigade to furnish 200 Men; to be commanded by Col Silliman.

Genl. McDougall's Brigade to furnish a Lieut. Colonel and 200 Men.

Genl. Fellows's Brigade to furnish a Major and 150 Men.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 2, 1776.

Parole Hartford. Countersign Harlem.

Jonathan Pollard Esqr. is appointed Aid-de-Camp to Genl. Heath, and is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

It is with much Concern the General is informed that tho' the new Rules for the Government of the Army have been out sometime, they have not been generally read to the Soldiers—Surely Gentlemen do not reflect what prejudice it is to the service, to omit so material a point of duty.[69]

It is once more repeated, that every Soldier is to be completed with Ammunition to 24 Rounds a Man; and it is the duty of Officers to see that they have it—Some of the troops who went out on the covering party this morning, had not their Complement, nor had their Officers examined their Arms and Ammunition, before they marched them on the Grand Parade—This Conduct if not amended will be fatal to the Army and the Country—Where the Cartridge-Boxes will not hold the full Complement, application is to be made for Pouches, which may be had at the Commissary's Store.

[69] The regulations for the government of the army, often called the Articles of War, were ordered published by Congress June 30, 1775; republished by a resolve of December 7, revised and again republished by the resolve of September 20, 1776. They were again revised and ordered republished April 14, 1777. It was the September revision to which Washington alluded.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 2, 1776.

Sir: I do myself the honor of transmitting to you the inclosed Letter from Lieut Colonel Livingston[70] with sundry Copies of General Delancey's Orders,[71] which discover the measures the Enemy are pursuing on Long Island for raising Recruits and obtaining supplies of Provisions. In consequence of the intelligence they contain and authentic advices through other Channels, respecting these matters, I have sent Brigadier General Geo. Clinton to meet General Lincoln, who has got as far as Fairfield, with part of the Troops lately ordered by the Massachusetts Assembly, to concert with him and others an Expedition across the Sound with these Troops; three Companies under Colonel Livingston and such further aid as Governor Trumbull can afford, in order to prevent if possible, their effecting these important Objects, and to assist the Inhabitants in the removal of their Stock, Grain &ca. or in destroying them, that the Enemy may not derive any advantage or benefit from them. The recruiting Scheme, they are prosecuting with uncommon industry, nor is it confined to Long Island alone, having just now received a Letter from the Committee of Westchester County, advising that there are several Companies of men in that and Dutchess County preparing to go off and join the King's Army. I have given directions to our Guard Boats and our Centries at our Works at Mount Washington, to keep a strict look out, in case they attempt to come down the North River, also to General Heath at Kings bridge, that the utmost Vigilance may be observed by the Regiments and

[70] Lieut. Col. Henry Beekman Livingston. His report, dated Sept. 24, 1776, is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

[71] Brig. Gen. Oliver DeLancey's letter to Col. Phineas Fanning, ordering him to drive all cattle and sheep to Jamaica, dated Sept. 11, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers.*

Troops stationed above there and down towards the East River that they may intercept them, should they take that Route with a view of crossing to Long Island.

I will use every precaution in my power to prevent these parricides from accomplishing their designs, but I have but little hopes of success as it will be no difficult matter for them to procure a passage over some part or other of the Sound.

I have been applied to lately by Col: Weedon, of Virginia, for permission to recruit the deficiency of men in his Regiment, out of the Troops composing the flying Camp, informing me at the sametime, that some of those from Maryland had offered to engage; Colo: Hand of the Rifle Batallion made a similar application to day: If the Inlistments could be made, they would have this good consequence, the securing of so many in the service: However, as the Measure might occasion some uneasiness in their own Corps, and be considered as a hardship by the States to which they belong and the means of their furnishing more than the Quota exacted from them in the General Arrangement and would make it more difficult for them to complete their own Levies, I did not conceive myself at liberty to Authorize it, without submitting the propriety of it to the consideration of Congress and obtaining their Opinion, whether it should be allowed or not.

I have inclosed a List of Warrants granted from the 2d. to the 30th. Ulto. inclusive, the only return of the sort, I have been able to make since the Resolution for that purpose, owing to the unsettled state of our Affairs and my having sent my papers away. You will also receive sundry Letters &ca. from General Schuyler, which came under cover to me and which I have the honor of forwarding.

By a Letter just received from the Committee of Safety of the State of New Hampshire, I find a thousand of their militia

were about to march on the 24th. Ulto., to reinforce this Army in consequence of the requisition of Congress: previous to their march, General Ward writes me, he was obliged to furnish them with 500 lb. of Powder and 1000 lb of Musket Ball and I have little reason to expect that they are better provided with other Articles than they were with Ammunition; in such case they will only add to our present distress, which is already far too great, and become disgusted with the service tho the time they are engaged for is only till the first of December. this will injure their inlisting for a longer term, if not wholly prevent it.

From three Deserters who came from the Galatea Man of War about five days ago, we are informed that several Transports had sailed before they left her, for England, as it was generally reported in order to return with a supply of Provisions, of which they say there is a want. General Mercer in a Letter informed me, that General Thompson said he had heard they were going to dismiss about a Hundred of the Ships from the service. I am also advised by a Letter from Mr. Derby at Boston of the 26th. Ulto., that the day before, a Transport Snow had been taken and sent into Piscatawa by a Privateer in her passage from New York to the West Indies. she sailed with five more under the convoy of a Man of war in order to bring from thence such Troops that are there, to join General Howe: they were all Victualled for four months. From this Intelligence it would seem as if they did not apprehend anything to be meditating against them by the Court of France.

October 3.

I have nothing in particular to communicate respecting our situation, It being much the same as when I wrote last. We had an Alarm this morning a little before Four O'Clock, from

some of our Out Sentries, who reported that a large body of the Enemy was advancing towards our Lines; this put us in motion, however turned out entirely premature, or at least we saw nothing of them. I have &ca.[72]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 3, 1776.

Parole Ireland. Countersign Florida.

Genl. Putnam will please to point out proper places for Huts, to shelter the Picquet-Guard (in front of our lines) and direct the officers who command these Guards, to see that the Men are employed every day at work thereon 'till they are completed; and this, for the sake of their own Health and Convenience, it is hoped they will do as soon as possible, as the weather will soon grow too uncomfortable to lay without shelter.

As the new Articles for the Government of the Army, are to take place on Monday next, it is expected that the officers will make their men acquainted with them as soon as possible, that Crimes may not pass unpunished on any pretence of ignorance. The several Brigadiers are immediately to return a List, to Head Quarters, of the Field Officers of their respective Brigades, who are absent, and on what account; noting such (if any) as have absented themselves without leave, or stayed beyond their limited time. Colonels and commanding Officers of Regiments are to do the same in their Regiments respectively—This Return to be made on Saturday at 12 O'Clock. When the Brigadier is absent, the eldest officer of the Brigade to make the Return.

Capt. Fitzgerald[73] is appointed to act as a Major to Col Weedon's Regiment, 'till further orders, instead of the brave Major Leitch who is dead of his wounds.

[72] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[73] Capt. John Fitzgerald. Later he was lieutenant colonel and aide to Washington.

An exact Return of the Officers Names, *fit for duty* in Camp, and *unfit;* is to be made seperate from the General Return.

The Brigades which send their Detachments first on the parade, are to take the right, as has been the usage for a long time.

No Officer is on any pretence to take off any Soldier, who is employed either as Waggoner, Butcher, Tallow-Chandler, or other Business under the Qr. Mr. General or Commissary General, without first applying to the Head of the department; and in case of dificulty or difference on the occasion, to apply to Head Quarters, and in the meantime the Soldier to continue on the Command.

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Harlem, October 4, 1776.

Sir: Before I knew of the late resolutions of Congress which you did me the honour to Inclose in your Letter of the 24th., and before I was favourd with the visit of your Comee., I took the liberty of giving you my Sentiments on several points which seem'd to be of Importance.

I have no doubt but that the Comee. will make such report of the State and Condition of the Army, as will induce Congress to believe, that nothing but the most vigorous exertions can put matters upon such a footing as to give this Continent a fair prospect of Success. Give me leave to say, Sir; I say it with due deference and respect, (and my knowledge of the Facts, added to the importance of the Cause and the stake I hold in it, must justify the freedom) that your Affairs are in a more unpromising way than you seem to apprehend.

Your Army, as mentioned in my last, is upon the eve of its political dissolution; true it is, you have voted a larger one in lieu of it, but the Season is late, and there is a material difference between voting of Battalions and raising of Men. In the

latter, there are more difficulties than Congress are aware of; which makes it my duty (as I have been informed of the prevailing Sentiment of this Army) to inform them, that unless the pay of the Officers (especially that of the Field Officers) is raised, the Chief part of those that are worth retaining, will leave the Service at the expiration of the present term; as the Soldiers will also, if some greater Incouragement is not offered them than Twenty Dollars, and one hundred Acres of Land.

Nothing less in my Opinion, than a Suit of Cloaths annually, given to each non-commissioned Officer and Soldier, in addition to the pay and bounty, will avail, and I question whether that will do, as the Enemy from the Information of one John Mash, who with Six others were taken by our Guards, are giving Ten pounds bounty for Recruits; and have got a Battalion under Majr. Rogers nearly compleated upon Long Island.

Nor will less pay according to my judgement than I have taken the liberty of mentioning in the Inclosed estimate retain such Officers as we could wish to have continued; the difference pr. month in each Battalion will amount to better than one hundred pounds; to this may be added the pay of the Staff Officers, for it is presumable they will also require an augmentation; but being few in number, the Sum will not be greatly Increased by them, and consequently is a matter of no great moment; but it is a matter of no small Importance to make the several Offices desirable. When the pay and establishment of an Officer once become objects of Interested attention, the Sloth, negligence, and even disobedience of Orders which at this time but too generally prevails, will be purged off; but while the Service is viewed with Indifference; while the Officer conceive that he is rather confering than receiving an obligation, there will be a total relaxation of all order and Discipline, and every thing will move heavily on, to the great detriment of the Service, and inexpressible trouble and vexation of the General.

The critical Situation of our Affairs at this time will justify my saying, that no time is to be lost in making of fruitless experiments; an unavailing tryal of a Month to get an Army upon the terms proposed, may render it impracticable to do it at all; and prove fatal to our Cause; as I am not sure whether any rubs in the way of our Inlistments, or unfavourable turn in our Affairs, may not prove the Means of the Enemy Recruiting Men faster than we do; to this may be added the inextricable difficulty of forming one Corps out of another, and arranging matters with any degree of Order in the face of an Enemy, who are watching for advantages.

At Cambridge last year, where the Officers (and more than a sufficiency of them) were all upon the spot, we found it a work of such extreame difficulty to know their Sentiments, (each having some terms to propose) that I despair'd once of getting the arrangement compleated; and do suppose that at least a hundred alterations took place before matters were finally adjusted; what must it be then under the present regulation, where the Officer is to negociate this matter with the State he comes from, distant perhaps two or three hundred Miles; some of whom, without leave or license from me set out to make personal application the Moment the Resolve got to their hands; what kind of Officers these are, I leave Congress to judge.

If an Officer of reputation (for none other should be applied to) is ask'd to stay what answer can he give, but in the first place, that he does not know whether it is at his option to do so, no provision being made in the Resolution of Congress even recommendatory of this measure; consequently, that it rests with the State he comes from (surrounded perhaps with a variety of applications, and influenced probably by local attachments), to determine whether he can be provided for or not. In

the next place, if he is an Officer of Merit, and knows that the State he comes from is to furnish more Battalions than it at present has in the Service, he will scarcely, after two years faithful Services, think of continuing in the Rank he now bears when new Creations are to be made, and Men appointed to Offices (no ways superior in Merit, and ignorant perhaps of Service) over his head. A Committee, sent to the Army from each State may, upon the Spot, fix things with a degree of propriety and certainty, and is the only method I can see, of bringing matters to a decision with respect to the Officers of the Army; but what can be done in the meanwhile, towards the arrangement in the Country I know not. In the one case, you run the hazard of loosing your Officers; in the other, encountering delay unless some method could be devised of forwarding both at the same Instant.

Upon the present Plan, I plainly foresee an intervention of time between the old and new Army, which must be filled with Militia (if to be had) with whom no Man, who has any regard for his own reputation can undertake to be answerable for Consequences. I shall also be mistaken in my conjectures, if we do not loose the most valuable Officers in this Army under the present mode of appointing them; consequently, if we have an Army at all, it will be composed of Materials not only entirely raw, but if uncommon pains are not taken, entirely unfit; and I see such a distrust and jealousy of Military power, that the Commander in Chief has not an oppertunity, even by recommendation, to give the least assurances of reward for the most essential Services:

In a word, such a Cloud of perplexing Circumstances appears before me without one flattering hope, that I am thoroughly convinced unless the most vigorous and decisive exertions are

immediately adopted to remedy these Evils, that the certain and absolute loss of our Liberties will be the inevitable consequence, as one unhappy stroke will throw a powerful weight into the Scale against us, enabling Genl. Howe to recruit his Army as fast as we shall ours, numbers being disposed, and many actually doing so already. Some of the most probable remedies, and such as experience has brought to my more intimate knowledge, I have taken the liberty to point out; the rest I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress.

I ask pardon for taking up so much of their Time with my opinions, but I should betray that trust which they and my Country have reposed in me, were I to be silent upon a matter so extremely Interesting; with the most perfect esteem I have the honour to be etc.[74]

[PAY INCREASE][75]

	Present pay	Suppose intended	Difference
1 Colonel	£15	£25	£10..
1 Lieut: Colonel	12	20	8..
1 Major	10	15	5..
8 Captains . . at 8£	64	at 10£ 80	16..
16 Lieuts . . . . at £5..8 . .	86..8	at £7..10 . . 120	33..12..
8 Ensigns . . . at £4 . . .	32	at £6 48	16..
1 Chaplin	10	15	5..
1 Adjutant	5..10	10	4..10..
1 Quarter Master	5..10	10	4..10..
1 Surgeon	10	15	5..
1 Mate	4	7..10	3..10..
			£111.. 2..0

[74] Congress recommended (October 8) that the States send committees to the Army to carry out these recommendations as to the appointment of officers and the principles of promotion; a suit of clothes annually was added to the enlistment bounty of all men who would enlist for the war. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

[75] This table of pay increase, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is filed with Washington's letter to Congress, Sept. 25, 1776, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 4, 1776.[76]

Parole Holland. Countersign Boston.

The shameful Inattention in some of the Camps to decency and cleanliness, in providing Necessaries, and picking up the Offal and Filth of the Camp, having been taken Notice of before in general, After this time particular Regiments will be pointed out by Name when such practices prevail.

The Court Martial whereof Col Magaw was President is dissolved—The Brigade Majors are immediately to settle a new one, Col Weedon to preside.

As there are many Officers in Camp, whose Health will not admit their going on Picquet, but can attend Court Martial, the Brigade Majors are to attend to this Circumstance informing the Court, by which means the duty will be easier to the whole.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 5, 1776.

Sir: I was last Night honoured with your favor of the 2d. with sundry Resolutions of Congress. The Officers that concurred in the acquittal of Ensign McCumber shall be called upon, to assign their reasons for their first judgment which shall be sent as soon as they are collected.

In respect to the Exchange of prisoners, I fear it will be a work of great difficulty, owing to their dispersed and scattered situation thro out the States; in order to effect it, I have wrote to the Eastern Governments to have them collected and to transmit me an Account of their Number, distinguishing the Names and Ranks of the Field and Commissioned Officers,

[76] On this date Washington wrote briefly to Schuyler that he could not furnish nails for barrack building at Albany; that Maj. William Edmonstone, of the Forty-eighth Foot would have to await exchange; and that the Oswego expedition would, he hoped, be laid aside on account of the approach of winter.

and the Corps they belong to; I have also wrote to Governor Livingston of the Jersey's upon the Subject, and must take the Liberty of requesting Congress to give directions that a similar return may be made of those in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and for their being brought to Brunswick, that they may be ready to be exchanged for an equal Number and those of the same Rank. I observe by the Resolve of the 26th. Ulto., that the Exchange is particularly directed to be made of the Officers and Soldiers taken on Long Island; but should not that follow the exchange of those Officers and Men who have lately returned from Quebec, whose Imprisonment has been much longer, and whose Service has not been less severe and in many instances Conducted with Great intrepidity; I have had many applications since their arrival, by which they claim a kind of preference, as far as their numbers and the circumstances of their Rank will allow, and which I thought it my duty to mention, that I may obtain some direction upon the subject.[77]

You will observe, by a Paragraph of a Letter received Yesterday from General Howe, a Copy of which you have at length, that the non-performance of the Agreement between Captain Forster and General Arnold, by which the latter stipulated for the return of an equal number of Officers and Prisoners in our hands for those delivered him, is considered in an unfavourable light and entirely imputed to me, as having the Chief command of the Armies of the States, and a controlling power over General Arnold. The pointed manner in which Mr. Howe is pleased to express himself, could not personally affect me, supposing there had been no good grounds for the Treaty not being ratified, having been nothing more than an Instrument of conveying to him the Resolutions formed upon the Subject; but

[77] On October 10 Congress resolved that "General Washington be directed to negotiate with General Howe, an exchange of the officers returned from Canada, and that they have a preference to the officers taken on New York and Long Island." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

as there were but too just reasons, his censure could have no weight was it not directed against me. However, I would beg leave to observe, from the Letters from the Hostages; from what has been reported by others respecting Captain Forster's having used his endeavours to restrain the Savages from exercising their wonted barbarities, (tho' in some instances they did) his purchasing some of the Prisoners for a pretty considerable premium; but above all, from the delicate nature of such Treaties, and because the non-observance of them, must damp the Spirits of the Officers who make them, and add affliction to the Misfortunes of those whom necessity and the nature of the case force into Captivity, to give them a sanction, by a long and irksome confinement; For these reasons and many more that will readily occur and that I could wish Congress to reconsider the matter and to carry it into execution. I am sensible the wrong was originally in their employing Savages and that whatever cruelties were committed by them, should be esteemed as their own Acts: Yet perhaps in point of Policy, it may not be improper to overlook these infractions on their part, and to pursue that mode which will be the most likely to render the hardships incident to War, most tolerable, and the greatest benefits to the State. I have ventured to say thus much upon the Subject, from a regard to the service, and because such Gentlemen of the Army as I have heard mention it, seem to wish the Treaty had been ratified, rather than disallowed.[78]

[78] General Howe had written (October 4): "With Relation to the Non Performance of your Part of the Agreement between Captain Forster and General Arnold, that General being immediately under your Command, from your Situation made known to me under your own Subscription, it rests with you to see them fulfilled, agreeable to the plighted Faith of the General, which, no doubt, to save his Honor, he has a Right to expect, or that you will return the Prisoners given up by Captain Forster. In the mean while I trust, from the Declaration in your Letter of the 23d last past, that you will not allow of any Delay in the Exchange of the Officers and Soldiers in your Possession belonging to His Majesty's Troops. Brigadier General Woodhull was yesterday reported to me to have died of his Wounds." Howe's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

A letter from a "gentleman" at Montreal, dated Aug. 18, 1776, stated that when Captain Forster had taken the American party prisoners his provisions proved insufficient

Inclosed is a list of vacancies in the Third Regiment of Virginia Troops in part occasioned by the Death of Major Leitch, who died of his Wounds on Tuesday Morning, and of the Gentlemen who stand next in Regimental Order and who are recommended to succeed to them; You will observe that Captn. John Fitzgerald is said to be appointed to the duty of Major. This I have done in orders, being the eldest Captain in the Regiment and I believe an officer of unexceptionable Merit, and as it was highly necessary at this Time, to have the Corps as well and fully officered as possible.

There is also a vacancy in the 1st. Continental Battalion, by the promotion of Lieut: Clark[79] to a Majority in the flying Camp, to which Colonel Hand has recommended William Patten to succeed, as you will perceive by his Letter inclosed.

I have taken the liberty to transmit a plan for establishing a Corps of Engineers, Artificers &ca. sketched out by Colonel Putnam,[80] and which is proposed for the consideration of Congress. How far they may incline to adopt, or whether they may chuse to proceed upon such an extensive scale, they will be pleased to determine; However I conceive it, a matter well worthy of their consideration, being convinced from experience and from the reasons suggested by Colo. Putnam, who has acted with great diligence and reputation in the Business, that some establishment of the sort is highly necessary and will be productive of the most beneficial consequences. If the proposition is approved by Congress, I am informed by good Authority, that there is a

for such a number, and he was obliged to put his own men and the Indians with him on half allowance. This made the Indians discontented, and they insisted upon putting their prisoners to death, but were prevailed upon by Captain Forster, after the "utmost entreaty," to spare them to be sent to the colonies to be exchanged. General Burgoyne allowed the hostages to write to their friends.—*Ford.*

[79] Lieut. John Clark had been made major of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp on September 14.

[80] Col. Rufus Putnam's plan for a corps of engineers, dated Sept. 26, 1776, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

Gentleman in Virginia in the Colony Service, John Stadler Esquire a Native of Germany, whose abilities in this way are by no means inconsiderable.[81]

I am told he was an Engineer in the Army under Genl. Stanwix, and is reputed to be of skill and ingenuity in the profession. In this capacity I do not know him myself, but am intimately acquainted with him in his private Character, as a man of understanding and of good behaviour. I would submit his merit to the inquiry of Congress, and if he shall answer the report I have had of him, I make no doubt but he will be suitably provided for.

The Convention of this State have lately seized and had appraised two New Ships, valued at 6229 £ Y[ork] Currency which they have sent down for the purpose of sinking and obstructing the Channel opposite Mount Washington. The price being high and opinions various as to the necessity of the measure, some conceiving the Obstruction nearly sufficient already; and others that they would render it secure, I would wish to have the direction of Congress upon the Subject by the earliest opportunity, thinking myself, that if the Enemy should attempt to come up, that they should be used sooner than to hazard their passing.

I must be governed by circumstances, yet hope for their sentiments before any thing is necessary to be done.

Sundry disputes having arisen of late between Officers of different Regiments and of the same Rank, respecting the right of succession, to such vacancies as happen from death or other causes, some suggesting that it should be in a Colonial line and governed by the priority of their Commissions, others that it should be regimental, and there being an instance now before me, between the Officers of the Virginia Regiments occasioned

[81] Stadler, later, was a lieutenant colonel of Engineers in the Southern Department.

by the death of Major Lietch, It has become absolutely necessary that Congress should determine the mode by which promotions are to be regulated, whether colonially and by priority of Commissions, or Regimentally; reserving a right out of the General rule they adopt, to reward for particular Merit, or of witholding from Office such as may not be worthy to succeed. I have only proposed two modes for their consideration, being satisfied that promotions through the line as they are called, can never take place without producing discord, jealousy, distrust and the most fatal consequences. In some of my Letters upon the subject of promotions, and in one which I had the honor of adressing the board of War on the 30th. Ulto., I advised, that the mode should be rather practised than resolved on, but I am fully convinced now of the necessity there is of settling it in one of the two ways I have taken the liberty to point out and under the restrictions I have mentioned, or the disputes and applications will be endless and attended with great inconveniences. I have the Honor &ca.[82]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Head Quarters on Harlem Heights, October 5, 1776.

Sir: Your Letter of the 1st. Instt., enclosing one from the Committee of New Windsor, and a Deposition against Mr. Conner is duly received. They say the Butter was intended for this Army, I would therefore advise its being immediately sent to Colo. Trumbull Commissary General, who will pay the current price; this step cannot but be agreeable to Mr. Conner, if he is innocent of the Charge, if otherways, will be secured from going to the Enemy. The Committee should take upon them the further Examination of Conner and Montgomery, and deal

[82] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The "Letter Book" copy, in the *Washington Papers*, also in Harrison's writing, varies in minor verbal particulars from the letter sent.

with them according to their Crimes; if found guilty, the same steps ought to be taken in regard to the Flour you mention to be in Store at New Windsor. In respect to Intrenching Tools, much time elapses in sending them from here, besides we have not more than are wanted for present use, you must apply to the several Committees in the Country, or send an Officer to pick up such a number as may be necessary; for the Amount you may draw on the Quarter Master General. I am &c.

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 5, 1776.

Sir: The Congress having directed me, by a Resolve of the 26th. Sepr., to procure as soon as possible, an Exchange of the Officers and Soldiers taken on Long Island, for the same Number of British Officers and privates, now prisoners in the United States; it becomes necessary, for me to be informed of the Numbers and Ranks of the prisoners in the different States, in order to carry the same into execution. you will therefore oblige me, by having made out and transmitted to me, an exact Return of the Number of Officers in New Jersey, their Ranks, Names and the Corps to which they belong; The numbers of the non Commissioned Officers and privates without their names will be Sufficient. They should also be Collected from the different Places where they are Stationed, and brought together to some convenient place (Brunswick I should think), from whence they may be sent to General Howe when the Cartel is fully settled. I am etc.

To GOVERNOR PATRICK HENRY

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem, October 5, 1776.

Dr. Sir: Your Obliging favor of the 20th Ultimo came duly to hand and demands my best acknowledgments. I congratulate

you, Sir, most cordially, upon your appointment to the Government; and, with no less sincerity, on your late recovery. Your Correspondence will confer honor and Satisfaction; and, whenever it is in my power, I shall write to you with pleasure. Our Retreat from Long Island, under the peculiar Circumstances we then laboured, became an Act of prudence and necessity, and the Evacuation of New York was a consequence resulting from the other. Indeed, after we discovered the Enemy, instead of making an Attack upon the City, were endeavouring (by means of their Ships and a Superior land force) either to intercept our retreat, by getting in our rear; or else by landing their *forces,* between our divisions at Kingsbridge and those in the Town, to seperate the one from the other, it became a matter of the last importance to alter the disposition of the Army.

These Measures, however, (Although of the most evident utility) have been productive of some inconveniencies; the Troops having become in some Measure dispirited, by these successive Retreats, and which, I presume, has also been the case among several of our Friends in the Country. In order to recover that Military Ardor, which is of the utmost Moment to an Army; almost immediately on my Arrival at this Place, I formed a design of cutting off some of the Enemy's light Troops, who (encouraged by their Successes) had advanced to the extremity of the High Ground, opposite to our present Encampment. To effect this salutary purpose, Colo Knowlton and Major Leitch were detached with parties of Riflemen and Rangers to get in their rear, while a disposition was made as if to attack them in front: By some unhappy mistake, the fire was commenced from that Quarter, rather on their Flank than in their rear; by which Means, though the Enemy were defeated and pushed off the Ground, yet they had an Opportunity of retreating to their Main Body. This piece of success (though it

tended greatly to inspire our Troops with confidence), has been in some measure imbittered by the loss of those two brave Officers, who are dead of the Wounds they received in the Action. Since this Skirmish, excepting the affair at Montresor's Island, where Major Henly, another of our best Officers, was slain, there has been nothing of any material Consequence. Indeed, the advantage obtained over the Enemy's Light Troops, might have been improved, perhaps to a considerable extent, had we been in a proper Situation to have made use of this favorable Crisis; but a want of Confidence, in the generality of the Troops, has prevented me from availing myself of that, and almost every other, opportunity, which has presented itself.

I own my fears, that this must ever be the case, when our dependence is placed on Men, inlisted for a few Months, commanded by such Officers as Party, or Accident, may have furnished; and on Militia, who as soon as they are fairly fixed in the Camp are impatient to return to their own Homes; and who, from an utter disregard of all discipline and restraint among themselves, are but too apt to infuse the like spirit into others. The Evils of short inlistments and employing Militia to oppose against regular and well appointed Troops, I strongly urged to Congress, before the last Army was engaged. Indeed, my own Situation at Cambridge, about the Close of the last Campaign, furnished the most striking example of the fatal tendency of such Measures. I then clearly foresaw, that such an Armament, as we had good reason to expect would be sent against us, could be opposed only by Troops inlisted during the War, and where every Action would add to their experience and improvement, and of whom (if they were unsuccessful in the begining), a reasonable hope might be entertained, that, in time, they would become as well acquainted with their Business as their Enemy's. This method, I am Convinced, would

have been attended with every good Consequence; for, besides the Militia's being altogether unfit for the Service, when Called into the Field, we have discovered from experience, they are much more expensive than any other kind of Troops; and that the War could have been Conducted on More Moderate Terms, by establishing a permanent Body of Forces, who were equal to every contingency, than by Calling in the Militia on imminent and pressing Occasions.

I would not wish to influence your Judgment with respect to Militia, in the Management of Indian affairs, as I am fully persuaded the Inhabitants of the frontier Counties in your Colony, are from inclination, as well as ability, peculiarly adapted for that kind of Warfare. At the same time, I should think it would be highly advisable, in case you should conceive yourselves to be in danger from any detachment from the British Army, or from their Marines, not to depend on any Troops, but such as are well Officered and Inlisted during the War.

I make no doubt, but your State have turned their Views towards forming some Obstacles against the Enemy's ships and Tenders, who may go up your Rivers, in quest of Provisions, or for the purpose of destroying your Towns. If they have depended on Batteries to prevent them, without any other obstructions, a tryal of the matter has taught us to believe it will be altogether Ineffectual; as when under Sail, with wind and Tide in their favor, any damage they may receive from a Battery, will be of very little Consequence. At the same time, I must observe that this kind of opposition is exceedingly proper for the defence of a Town, or in any Case, where it is necessary the Ships should come to Anchor before the Batteries, for the purpose of Silencing them. In the first Instance, I would strongly recommend Row Gallies, which, if Officered with brave and determined Men, and Conducted with prudence,

would, in my Opinion, be productive of the greatest Advantage, and be the most likely means (in your Situation), of securing your Towns and Houses, on the Navigable Waters, from any impression of the Shipping.

I imagine, before this, Congress has made you acquainted with their Resolutions for raising the New Army, and that your Colony is to furnish fifteen Battalions, to be inlisted during the War. As this will occasion the choosing a Number of New Officers, I would in the most urgent Manner, recommend the utmost care and Circumspection in your several Appointments. I do not expect, that there are Many experienced Gentlemen now left with you, as, from what I have understood, those who have served in the last War are chiefly promoted; however, I am satisfied, that the Military Spirit runs so high in your Colony, and that the Number of Applicants will be so considerable, that a very proper choice may be made. Indeed, the Army's being put upon such a permanent footing, will be a strong inducement for them to step forth on the present interesting occasion. One Circumstance, in this important Business, ought to be cautiously guarded against, and that is, the Soldier and Officer being too nearly on a level. Discipline and Subordination add life and Vigour to Military movements. The person Commanded yields but a reluctant obedience to those, he conceives, are undeservedly made his Superiors. The degrees of Rank are frequently transferred from Civil life into the Departments of the Army. The true Criterion to judge by (when past Services do not enter into the Competition) is, to consider whether the Candidate for Office has a just pretention to the Character of a Gentleman, a proper sense of Honor, and some reputation to loose.

perhaps Sir, you may be surprised at my pressing this advice so strongly, as I have done in this Letter; but I have felt the

inconveniences resulting from a Contrary principle in so sensible a Manner, and this Army has been so greatly enfeebled by a different line of Conduct, that, I hope, you will readily excuse me. I am etc.

*To SAMUEL WASHINGTON

Heights of Harlem, October 5, 1776.

Dear Brother: Altho the multiplicity of Ingagements which employ all my waking hours, will not allow me to corrispond with my Friends with that freedom and punctuality I could wish, they may nevertheless be assured that neither time, distance, or change of Circumstances have, in the smallest degree altered the Affection I have ever entertained for them.

Your favour of the 16th. of last Month came safe to hand by Captn. Shepherd, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that yourself, and family were well. the Acct given you by Doctr. Walker, of the unfriendly disposition of the Western Indian's is really alarming; but if our success against the Cherokees is equal to report, I am in hopes it will bring the Western gentry to their Second thoughts before they strike. Your Acct. of the want of Arms among the People of the Frontiers is also alarming; but I hope the difficiency will, by one means or other, soon be repaird. Poor Stephenson![83] I sincerely lament his loss, he was a brave and a good Officer.

Mr. Pendleton[84] obtaind my Deed; or a Bond, or something obligatory upon me, and my heirs, to make him a title to the Land he had of me, and sold you, upon the purchase Money being paid, not one farthing of which has yet been done, even the last years Rent, if I remember right, which he took upon himself to pay, is yet behind. However, so soon as I can get

[83] Col. Hugh Stephenson, of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment. He seems to have died from illness.

[84] Col. Philip Pendleton, of Berkeley, Va. The land sold was a part of Washington's Bullskin plantation in the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia.

Evidences, I will send a power of Attorney to Lund Washington to make legal conveyance of the Land, to you. In the meanwhile the Instrument of writing I passed to Mr. Pendleton will always be good against my Heirs, upon the Condition's of it being complied with.

Matters in this Quarter, have by no means worn that favourable aspect you have been taught to believe from the publications in the Gazettes. The pompous Acct. of the Marches, and Counter Marches of the Militia, tho' true so far as relates to the Expence, is false with respect to the Service, for you could neither get them to stay in Camp or fight when they were there, in short, it may truely be said they were eternally coming and going without rendering the least Earthly Service, altho' the expence of them surpasses all description.

At no one time since General Howe's arrival at Staten Island has my Force been equal (in Men fit for duty) to his; and yet, people at a distance, as I have understood by Letters, have conceivd that they were scarce a mouthful for us. To this cause, the number of Posts we were obliged to occupy, in order to secure our Communication with the Country; and the intended mode of Attack is to be attributed our Retreat from Long Island, and the Evacuation of New York.

We found that General Howe had no Inclination to make an Attack upon our Lines at the last mentioned place. We discovered at the sametime by their movements, and our Intelligence, that with the assistance of their Ships they intended to draw a Line round us, and cut of all communication, between the City and Country; thereby reducing us to the necessity of fighting our way out under every disadvantage, surrendering at discretion, or Starving. That they might have accomplished one or the other of these, if we had stayed at New York, is certain; because the City, as I presume you know, stands upon

the point of a narrow Neck of Land laying between the East and North Rivers; and not more than a Mile Wide for Six or Seven Miles back; both Rivers having sufficient depth of Water for Ships of any burthen; and because they were not only Superior in Numbers, but could bring their whole force to any one point, whereas we, to keep open the communication were obliged to have an extended Line, or rather a chain of Posts, for near 18 Miles.

It may be asked how we come to take possession of, and continue so long in a place thus Circumstanced; to the first I answer, that the Post was taken, and the Works advanced, before I left Boston, and to the Second, that if our strength had been equal to the determination of Congress we should have had Men enough to defend the City and Secured the Communication, if their behaviour had been good.

Our retreat from Long Island was made without any loss, so might that have been from New York, but for a defect in the department of the Quarter Master Genls. not providing Teams enough; and for the dastardly behaviour of part of our Troops, two Brigades of which run away from a small party of the Enemy, and left me in the Field with only my Aid de Camps. The day after our Retreat from New York (which happend on the 15th Ulto.) we had a pretty smart skirmish with the Enemy, in which about 60 of our Men were killed and Wounded, and by the Smallest 100 and by most other Accts. two hundred of the Enemy. In this Ingagement poor Majr. Leitch of Weedon's Regiment received three Wounds through his Side, of which he died on Wednesday last, after we thought him almost Well. Since that nothing extraordinary has happen'd tho' an Attack from the Enemy has been, and now is, daily expected. We are strengthning our Post, as the Enemy also are theirs.

My love to, and best wishes attends my Sister and the Family, as also our Friends at Fairfield; to these please to add my Compliments to Mr. Booth,[85] and all other Friends, and be assured that with the sincerest love and regard, I am, etc. [H.S.P.]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 5, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General conceiving it to be his indispensible duty to lay before the Congress the proceedings of the General Court Martial, on the trial of Ensign McCumber, has received the following Orders from them, which he desires those Members, who were favourers of the first judgement would immediately comply with.

In Congress, Septr. 30th. 1776

Resolved.

That General Washington be directed to call upon such of the Members, of the Court Martial, as sat in the trial and concur'd in the acquital, of Ensign McCumber; to assign the reasons for their first judgement, together with the Names of such of the said Members, who were for the acquital; to be returned to Congress.

For the greater ease and convenience of doing the duty, the General directs, that the two Virginia Regiments be formed into a Brigade, and for the present be under the Command of the eldest Colonel thereof. Also that the regiments lately from Rhode Island, and the Militia Regiments from Connecticut, under the Command of Lieut. Col. Storrs[86] and Major Graves,[87] be formed into another Brigade, and at present be under the command of Col. Lippet[88]—Proper persons to do the duty of

[85] Possibly William Booth, of Westmoreland, Va., as Samuel Washington was probably at Chotank, Va., at this date.

[86] Lieut. Col. Ebenezer Storrs.

[87] Maj. Silvanus Graves.

[88] Col. Christopher Lippett, of the Rhode Island Militia.

Brigade Majors, to be recommended by the Colonel who commands them, who will be paid during the time of their acting in that office: It is expected that Gentlemen capable of doing the duty, will be recommended, and none others; as it is a melancholy thing, to have the business of the Army, conducted with irregularity and sloth; when every thing should put on the face of activity and life.

After Monday, no Adjutant on the East-side of Hudson's River, will be allowed to take orders at Head Quarters, but they must attend their Brigade Majors, and receive 'em from them—If any Brigade Major is sick, or otherwise unable to attend, the Brigadier, or Colonel commanding, is to signify it to the Adjutant General, and recommend some suitable person to act in his stead.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 6, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Forty men, one Capt: two Sub's to be furnished by the Regiments at Mount Washington, to assist in ballasting the Vessels: They are to take Orders from Andrew Ober on board the Sloop Nightingale—This party to be continued 'till the business is done; Besides, the above regiments stationed at Mount Washington, are to furnish Men in proportion to their strenght for the works there. Col Lippet's Brigade is to furnish men for the Works opposite Mount Washington, to be laid out by Col Putnam, from whom they are to take Orders.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 6, 1776.

Sir: I beg leave to inform you, that in consequence of my directions, founded on your favor of the 21st Ulto. Governors

Brown and Skeene are arrived within the Neighbourhood of this place and will be conveyed to morrow, between the Hours of one and Two, to one of the Ships of War in the North River, when it is hoped that my Lord Sterling will be permitted to return, as also Mr. Lovell, if he is come from Halifax.

The particular manner in which you rest upon me, by your Letter of the 4th. instant, a performance of the Agreement between General Arnold and Capt: Forster, was entirely unexpected, as I inclosed you some time ago, the Resolutions of Congress upon the Subject, by which you would perceive that they, to whom I am amenable, had taken upon themselves the consideration of the Matter. As to the Prisoners mentioned in my Letter of the 23d, their Exchange shall be effected, as soon as the circumstances I made you acquainted with will admit of.

The inclosed Note for Mrs. DeLancey, you will be pleased to have conveyed by the earliest Opportunity. I am etc.

To THE COMTE D'EMERY[89]

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights,
10 Miles from New York, October 7, 1776.

Sir: I yesterday had the honor of receiving your Letter of the 4th. Augt. and I take the earliest Opportunity of testifying the pleasure I have in complying with your request, by immediately ordering the Release of Monsr. Dechambault. He shall be accommodated with a Passage in the first Vessel that sails from Philadelphia to the French Colonies in the West Indies. Had it not been for your Interposition Monsr. Dechambault must have remained a prisoner till released by a Cartel, but I could not hesitate to comply with a Request made by a Nobleman who by his public Countenance of our Cause has rendered

[89] Governor General of the French part of San Domingo.

such essential Services to the thirteen united independent States of America, whose Armies I have the honor to command. I have the honor to be, etc.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 7, 1776.

Sir: I do myself the honor of transmitting to you a Copy of a Letter from the Compte D'Emery, Governor General of the French part of St. Domingo, which I received Yesterday and also my Answer, which I have inclosed and left open for the Consideration of Congress, wishing that it may be sealed, if they approve of the Seiur. De Chambeau's releasement, and which I think may be attended with many valuation consequences. If Congress concur in Sentiment with me, they will be pleased to give directions for his passage by the first opportunity to the French Islands; If they do not I shall be obliged by your returning my Letter.[90]

I have also the pleasure of inclosing a Copy of a Letter from Monsr. P. Pennet,[91] which came to hand last night and which contains intelligence of an agreeable and interesting nature, for which I beg leave to refer you to the Copy.

The Polite manner in which Monsr. Pennet has requested to be one of my Aid de Camps, demands my acknowledgements. As the appointment will not be attended with any expence and will shew a proper regard for his complaisance and the Attachment he is pleased to express for the service of the American States, I shall take the Liberty of complying with his requisition and transmit him a Brevet Commission, provided the same shall be agreeable to Congress. Their Sentiments upon

[90] Congress approved this recommendation and voted the release of De Chambault.
[91] Pierre Penet.

the Subject you will be kind enough to favor me with, by the first opportunity.[92]

The Enclosed Letter for the Seignr DeChambeau[93] you will please to forward to him, if he is to be enlarged, after closing It.

Before I conclude, I must take the liberty to observe that I am under no small difficulties on account of the French Gentlemen that are here in consequence of the Commissions they have received, having no means to employ them or to afford them an Opportunity of rendering that service, they themselves wish to give, or which perhaps is expected by the public. Their want of our language, is an objection to their being joined to any of the Regiments here at this time, were there vacancies, and not other obstacles. These considerations induce me to wish, that Congress will adopt and point out some particular mode to be observed respecting them; What it should be, they will be best able to determine: But to me it appears, that their being here now can be attended with no valuable consequences, and that as the power of appointing Officers for the new Army is vested in the Conventions &ca. of the Several States, it will be necessary for Congress to direct them to be provided for in the Regiments to be raised, according to the ranks they would wish them to bear, or I am convinced, they will never be taken in, let their merit be what it may, or to form them into a distinct Corps which may be encreased in time. They seem to be Genteel, sensible Men, and I have no doubt of their making good Officers as soon as they can learn as much of our Language as to make themselves well understood, but unless Congress interferes, with their particular directions to the States, they will never be incorporated in any of the Regiments to be raised

[92] Congress granted the permission, and Penet was appointed a brevet aide-de-camp to the Commander in Chief, the only such appointment made.

[93] Washington did not, apparently, keep a copy of his letter to De Chambault.

and without they are, they will be entirely at a loss and in the most irksome situation for some thing to do, as they now are.[94] I have &ca.[95]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 7, 1776.

Sir: Doctor Skinner[96] having been very urgent and pressing to go to Philadelphia, in order to procure Medicine for the sick of his Regiment, I could by no means refuse my assent to this proposition. By him I beg leave to inform you, that the applications of the Regimental Surgeons, are very frequent and importunate, and it is not in my power to satisfy their demands; their situation will be fully made known by Doctor Morgan's[97] Letter to one of my Aid de Camps, in answer to one wrote to him on that Subject, which I have inclosed to you for your consideration. I have the Honor etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Quarters, October 7, 1776.

Sir: As I am credibly inform'd that the inhabitants along the Sound carry on a frequent communication with the Enemy on Long Island, you are hereby instructed to collect all the boats, and other small craft on the sound, from Hare Neck downwards to any extent you shall think proper, and convey them to any place you shall conceive to be most convenient.[98] [MS. H. S.]

[94] Probably the four French officers who arrived in September in the *Reprisal*, Capt. Lambert Wickes.

[95] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The letter sent varies in minor verbal details from the "Letter Book" copy in the *Washington Papers*, which is also in Harrison's writing.

[96] Alexander Skinner, surgeon of the First Virginia Regiment.

[97] John Morgan, director general and chief physician of Continental Hospital. The Morgan correspondence is not in the *Washington Papers*.

[98] In the writing of William Grayson.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 7, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Capt. William McWilliams, of the 3rd Virginia Regiment is to do the duty of Brigade Major in Col Weedon's Brigade, 'till further orders.

Representation having been made to the General, that numbers of the Picquet Guard are absent from their Posts, under pretence of fetching provisions and water; He positively orders, that every man (as well Officers, as Soldiers) shall carry provisions with, or have it brought to them at their posts, by their Messmates; as the safety of the Army depends too much on their diligence and attention, to admit of such practices—It is moreover expected of the Officer commanding the Picquet, that he does not, under any pretence whatever, suffer the men to straggle from their respective Posts, without they are sent upon scouting parties by himself; But always to have them in readiness to give such effectual opposition, as to allow time to the line to turn out; which being the end and design of Guards, is defeated if the men, who mount, are not in a posture to give instant opposition.

The Quarter Master General is immediately to provide twenty Wood-Axes for the Picquet Guards, in front of our lines; When provided, he is to deliver them to the Officer commanding the Picquet, who is to see that they are delivered over to the officer relieving, and so from one to the other—the Officer failing will be answerable—These Axes are intended for the purpose of providing Wood, and erecting Hutts for the Guards, which last ought not to be delayed.

The Brigadiers, and Officers commanding Regiments, are to prevent the irregular and promiscuous placing of Hutts, and to see that they are built in such a manner, as to stand the

weather and weight of Snow, which may lodge on them, that no accident may befal the men.

Serjt. George Douglass of Capt. Foster's[99] Company, late McDougall's Regiment, being convicted by a General Court Martial whereof Col Weedon is president of "Embezelling and selling provisions, belonging to the Company"—is sentenced to be reduced to the Ranks, and whipped 39 Lashes—to be continued under Provost-Guard for "Mutinous Speeches and disrespectful language of the Commander in Chief"—George Harris of Capt. Howell's[1] Company, Col Wind's Regiments tried by the same Court Martial, and convicted of "Desertion"—is ordered to be whipped 39 Lashes.

The General approves the above Sentences, and the Provost Marshall is to see the sentence on Harris, executed to morrow morning at Guard mounting.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 8, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The late Serjeant Douglass of Capt. Foster's Company, late McDougall's Regiment, being convicted by a General Court Martial, whereof Col Weedon was President of "Mutinous Speeches and speaking disrespectfully of the Commander in Chief" and sentenced to receive 39 Lashes—The General approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed at the usual time and place—This Offender being a very bad character, is to be continued in the Provost Guard 'till further Orders.

The Commanding Officer of the Rangers having represented that Soldiers are continually straggling down to Harlem

[99] The returns of the first four New York regiments for November, 1776, do not show a Captain Foster. In the court-martial record he is said to be of the regiment commanded by Major Tuthill.

[1] Capt. Silas Howell, of the First New Jersey Regiment.

and other Places; frequently without Arms—and that when he has apprehended, and sent them to their Regiments, no farther notice has been taken of them; As this is a plain breach of General Orders, the General hopes there is some mistake in the matter; however to prevent it in future, he now orders that no officer or soldier (Rangers excepted) go on any pretence beyond the lines, without leave from himself, a Major General, the Brigadier of the day, or the Adjutant General, in writing; unless either of those officers are with them in person: And in order to distinguish the Rangers, they are to wear something *white* round their Arms. If any such Straggler is found hereafter, he is to be sent to the quarter-guard of the Regiment, tried by a Regimental Court Martial, and receive ten Lashes immediately.

There is now an issuing Store for Ammunition, near Genl. Spencer's quarters, the Officers of every Regiment will be responsible if there is any deficiency in their regiments, as they may now receive a full supply by making a Return of the State of their Ammunition, and getting an Order from the Adjutant General.

The Brigade lately commanded by Genl Mifflin is to be under the care of Lord Stirling who is just returned from his Captivity.

The General desires the commanding Officers of each Regiment, or Corps, will give in a list of the names of the Officers and Men, who were killed, taken, or missing in the Action of the 27th of August on Long Island, and since that period. He desires the Returns may be correct, and that any persons who have it in their power, will give in the Returns of this kind in behalf of any Militia Regiments which are discharged.

The General, to prevent any plea of ignorance, again repeats his order against all kinds of Gaming, as destructive and

pernicious to the service: He hopes the officers will set no examples of this kind, and that they will punish it among the men.

The General is surprised to find that manning the lines every morning, is discontinued—He desires that the practice of doing it, for the future, may not be omitted, unless contradicted by General Orders.

The Quarter-Master General is to use the greatest diligence, in providing straw for the accomodation of the troops.

Lieut. Kidd[2] of Col Smallwood's Regiment, convicted by a Court Martial whereof Col Ware was President of a breach of General Orders, in "Taking fatigue-men from their duty"—is sentenced to be dismissed the service—Ensign Fairly[3] of the Regiment late McDougall's, tried by the same Court Martial, for the same, is acquitted and discharged from Arrest.—Capt. Hardenburgh[4] of Col Ritzema's Regiment, convicted by the same Court Martial of "Defrauding his men" is sentenced to be cashiered, and his name, place of abode, and offence, published agreeable to the 2nd. and 4th. late additional Articles of war—

The General approves each of the above Sentences, and orders to be executed.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem, October 8, 1776.

Sir: I was this Morning honored with your favor of the 2d Inst., and beg leave to return you my thanks for the Measures you have adopted, upon my request for obtaining an Account of the Prisoners in your State, and for your Assurance, that I shall be furnished with a Return, as soon as it is procured, in order that I may give further directions about them.

[2] Lieut. John Kidd.
[3] Ensign James Fairly.
[4] Capt. Cornelius Hardenbergh.

The proposition respecting the Prisoners that wish to remain with us, and about the expence that has been incurred for the maintenance of the whole, that have been in your State; I shall lay before Congress by the earliest opportunity and will transmit you the result of their opinion. However it appears to me; that there will be a necessity for returning the whole of their prisoners, not only because the Ballance is against us, but because I am informed, it was particularly Stipulated on the part of Genl. Montgomery for those that were taken in Canada. the Case will be hard upon those who want to remain and who have all become attached to us, and should Congress determine on their being returned, it will be but right that some pains should be used, to inform them of the reasons leading to the Measure and I doubt not, if they act with proper Caution, that they may afterwards effect their escape, to which they should be encouraged. indeed I think, if they are heartily disposed towards us, that their Exchange may be productive of many good Consequences; they may extend their influence to many others and who perhaps will be induced to desert.

I hope, the resentment which your State mean to Express against those, who have scandalously deserted from the defence of our Cause, will have a happy effect, and prevent a like Conduct in future; Nothing can be too severe for them. Before the receipt of your favor, I had desired the General Officers to make out a list of such Field and other Officers, as are esteemed worthy of Command and intitled to Commissions in the Service. This is a Consideration of exceeding Importance, for without good Officers, we can never have Troops that will be worthy of the name, and with them we may in time have an Army equal to any. We have good materials to work upon. As soon as the list is obtained, I will forward it by the first Conveyance that may offer. I have strongly inculcated on the Genls., the

impropriety of giving in or recommending any, but those who are fit for Service; and you may rest assured Sir, as you have been pleased to honor me with your Confidence, on this occasion, that as far as it shall be in my Power, I will only return those that are well Spoken of, and who from report will Answer, what you have ever had in view, the advancement of our Common rights and the Happiness of the United States. I am etc.

P. S. the following Payments have been made to the Militia of your State, lately here.

1776	Dolls.
Sepr. 28. Major Nathl. Torry for his Regiment.....	5185 9/72
30th Capt Amos Barnes 15th Regt. Commd. by Major Shaw.	5211 38/72

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 8, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of writing you Yesterday, I have been favoured with a letter from the Honble. Council of Massachusetts Bay, covering one from Richard Derby Esquire, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, as it contains intelligence of an important and interesting nature.

As an Exchange of Prisoners is about to take place, I am induced, from a Question stated in a Letter I received from Governor Trumbull this morning, to ask the Opinion of Congress, in what manner the States that have had the care of them, are to [be] reimbursed the expences incurred on their Account. My want of information in this instance or whether any account is to be sent in with the Prisoners, would not allow me to give him an Answer, as nothing that I recollect, has ever been said upon the Subject. He also mentions another matter, Viz. Whether such privates as are Mechanics and others who may desire to remain with us, should be obliged to return:[5] In

[5]The Board of War reported on Washington's letter, and Congress (October 14) resolved that the several States submit their accounts for prisoner expenses. The

respect to the latter, I conceive there can be no doubt of our being under a necessity of returning the whole, a proposition having been made on our part for a General Exchange, and that agreed to; besides, the ballance of Prisoners is greatly against us, and I am informed, it was particularly stipulated by General Montgomery, that all those that were taken in Canada should be exchanged, whenever a Cartel was settled for the purpose. Under these circumstances, I should suppose the several Committees having the care of them, should be instructed to make the most exact returns of the whole, however willing a part should be to continue with us; at the same time I should think it not improper to inform them, of the reasons leading to the measure, and that they should be invited to escape afterwards, which in all probability they may effect without much difficulty if they are attached to us, extending their influence to many more and bringing them away also.

The situation of our Affairs and the present establishment of the Army, requiring our most vigorous exertions to engage a New One, I presume it will be necessary to furnish the Pay Master General, as early as possible, with Money to pay the bounty lately resolved on, to such Men as will inlist. Prompt pay perhaps may have a happy effect and induce the continuance of some who are here, but without it, I am certain that nothing can be done. nor have we time to loose in making the experiment. but then it may be asked, who is to recruit, or who can consider themselves as Officers for that purpose, till the Conventions of the different States have made the Appointments.

Yesterday afternoon the exchange between Lord Stirling and Governor Browne was carried into execution and his Lordship is now here; he confirms the Intelligence mentioned by Capt: Souther about the Transports he met, by the arrival of the

recommendation "That all Prisoners captivated by the Army of the United States, whether Mechanics or not, be included in the exchange to be made between General Washington and the Enemy" was "postponed."

Daphne, Man of War, (a twenty Gun Ship) a few days ago, with twelve Ships under her convoy having light Horse on board. They sailed with about Twenty in each and lost about eighty in their passage, besides those in the Vessel taken by Captain Souther: he further adds, that he had heard it acknowledged more than once, that in the Action of the 16th. Ulto.[6] the Enemy had a Hundred men killed, about sixty Highlanders of the 42d. Regiment, and 40 of the light Infantry. This confession coming from themselves, we may reasonably conclude did not exaggerate the number.

In pursuance of the Resolve which you were pleased to transmit me, I called upon the Members who concurred in the acquittal of McCumber, to assign their reasons. Inclosed you have their Answer, by which you will perceive the direction has given them great uneasiness, and from the information I have received, it has become a matter of much more general concern than could have been expected, insomuch that I will take the liberty to advise, that it may rest were it is; having heard that most of the Officers have become party to it and consider that the resolve materially affects the whole.[7]

October 9.

About 8 O'Clock this morning, Two Ships of 44. Guns each, supposed to be the Roebuck and Phœnix and a frigate of 20 Guns, with three or four Tenders got under way from about Bloomingdale where they had been laying some time and stood with an easy Southerly breeze towards our Chevaux defrize, which we hoped would have interrupted their passage while our Batteries played upon them, but to our surprize and mortification, they ran through without the least difficulty and

[6] Harlem Heights, N. Y.

[7] This report, dated Oct. 7, 1776, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. In it the court declined to give its reasons for the verdict. (See General Orders, Sept. 22, 1776, *ante*.)

without receiving any apparent damage from our Forts, tho' they kept up a heavy fire from both sides of the River. Their destination or views cannot be known with certainty, but most probably they are sent to stop the Navigation and cut off the supplies of boards &ca. which we should have received and of which we are in great need. They are standing up and I have dispatched an Express to the convention of this State, that Notice may be immediately communicated to General Clinton, at the Highland Fortifications, to put him on his Guard in case they Should have any designs against them and that precautions may be taken, to prevent the Craft belonging to the River falling into their hands. I have &ca.[8]

To JOSEPH TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, October 8, 1776.

Sir: I have receiv'd your letter, requesting information, relative to the persons who are to draw the rations of the sick; 'Tis true, there was a general order, directing a payment of the rations, to the Director Genl. for those sick, who were lodg'd in the General hospital but the inconveniences, resulting to the sick, from this piece of duty being disputed and unsettled between the General and Regimental Surgeons being so great; I did, (to relieve their sufferings and to render their situation more comfortable) issue out special directions, for the Col. of each regiment, to chuse a proper person to carry the sick into the country, and provide proper necessaries and accommodations for them out of the ration money. I did not think it proper or advisable to make this a general order, lest it should have been establish'd as a precedent, and become a color for

[8] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who left out the word within brackets in the second paragraph in the letter sent, though he included it in his "Letter Book" copy, which varies in minor verbal details from the above.

some imposition, after the present necessity for the measure shall have subsided; though I must observe to you, that in the settlement of your accounts, there will be the same attention paid to a special as to general order; I should therefore conceive it will be productive of no inconvenience whatever, to pay the ration money to the person appointed as before mentioned, by the Col. when he furnishes you a proper certificate specifying the number of men, the name of the regiment, and also the length of time his officer has had them under his care. I am, etc. [C.S.L.]

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Harlem Heights, October 9, 1776.

Dear Sir: You Letter of yesterday is before me, with the list Inclosed; but this is doing the matter by halves only, and the delay must inevitably defeat the end; as it is impossible from the nature of things that the different Governments can withold the nomination of Officers much longer. I therefore entreat you to delay not a moments time in summoning the Officers (under Sanction from me) to consider of this matter, that the Lists may be forwarded. the Committee of Congress directed this. Genl. Lincoln earnestly recommended it. Governor Trumbull has requested it in precise terms. In short, the good of the Service, and our Duty, renders it necessary; let it be received in never so unfavorable a light, (which by the by I do not conceive to be the case) by the States they are sent to. I think you would do well to consult the Field Officers with respect to the Captns. &ca. I beseech you once more to delay no time; and I beseech you to exhort the Officers you consult to lay aside all local prejudices and Attachments in their choice. The Salvation of their Country, and all we are contending for depends (under Providence) upon a good choice of Officers to make this Army

formidable to the Enemy; and Servicable to the cause we are endeavouring to support. Men who have endeavoured to support the Character of Officers, and who have not placed themselves upon a level with the common Soldiery, are fit to be prefered; Officers of the latter class will never, in short they cannot, conduct matters with propriety; but I need not point out the qualifications necessary to constitute a good Officer; your own observations and good judgments will readily point out who are, and who are not fit for the new appointment. I would have you confine yourself to the Massachusetts bay Officers.

Inclosed you have some Lists handed into me by General Green which may be attended to with the rest. Inclosed also, you will receive the opinion, and report of Colo. Knox and Colo. Putnam respecting our Works of defence, which so far as relates to your Department I shall have no objection to the Execution of with all possible dispatch; those on the Island we will attend to.

I have approvd the Sentences of the Court and desire you will order them to be executed. I am, etc. [MS. H. S.]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 9, 1776.

Sir: Agreeable to your request and the Promise contained in my Letter of yesterday; I beg leave to transmit you, the inclosed list, comprehending the names of such Gentlemen as are recommended by the General Officers from your State, as proper persons to be promoted in the Regiments you are about to raise, with the Ranks which they conceive they ought to bear. Sensible that the very existence, that the well doing of every Army, depends upon good Officers; I urged, I pressed the Gentlemen to whom the Business was confided, and whose Situation has

given them an Opportunity, of being better acquainted thro' the different Corps than I am, to pay their most serious attention to the Matter; and to return such and only such, as will in their estimation, by their fidelity, attachment and Good conduct, promote the great End we have in View, the establishment of our rights and the happiness of our Country, by that mode which sad necessity has obliged us to pursue. This I hope they have done, they have taken no Notice of any officer in the Northern Army or of those of the 17th. Regt. (Huntingdon's) who were taken on Long Island; whose Imprisonment I should suppose, if they have Merit, should be no Objection to their having promotion; Nor do they mean by the list they have given in, to preclude others of greater Merit, than those they have Mentioned; if they are to be found. Congress by a late Resolution, have allowed a pay Master to each Regiment, in the appointment of which, I would recommend, that particular Care be had to the Choosing Men, intimately acquainted with and well versed in Accounts and who will be able to keep them in a fair and distinct manner; as they will have not only to receive the Regiments Pay, but to keep Accounts of every transaction incident to them; such as respect their Cloathes &c. In some appointments lately made by the Field Officers to whom I submitted the Matter, they nominated Men who could not write their Names legibly.

As our present Army is upon the Eve of their dissolution; It behoves us to exert every Nerve, to inlist immediately for the New one. Without, I am convinced we shall have none to oppose the Enemy, and who will have it in their power, to spread havock and devastation wheresoever they will; I would therefore submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be proper, as soon as you have made choice of your Officers and which I think should be effected as early as possible, to appoint

a Committee, with power to repair to this place and make such arrangements, as may be Necessary with respect to those who are now in the Service, in order that they may begin to recruit out of the present Corps, without any loss of time.

I perceive the Genls. in the list they have made; have set down the Commissary[9] for a Regiment. In this I think they have done exceedingly right and that it is nothing more than a reward justly due his Merit, in case he should quit his present department; However I hope that the apprehensions, which have given rise to this step, will never become realities, and that he will continue in his office and upon such terms, as may be agreeable to him; but lest he should decline, the provision they have made, is extremely proper.

I this Minute saw Genl. Spencer, who informed me, that they had never taken the Officers, Prisoners on long Island into Consideration, in making out their Arrangement; not knowing whether they could be noticed in their present situation. I have made out a list of them and as I have before observed, If they are Men of Merit, their imprisonment, most certainly should not operate to their prejudice, if it can be avoided. If a principle of that sort was adopted, it would give the greatest discouragement, and have a direct tendency to suppress every brave and manly enterprize, which might be attended with Captivity. I would also mention Major Sherman,[10] Son of Mr. Sherman of Congress, a Young Gentleman who appears to me and who is generally esteemed an Active and Valuable

[9] Joseph Trumbull, Commissary General of Stores of the Continental Army. He was also Commissary General of Purchases of the Continental Army from June, 1777, to August, 1777, and a member of the Continental Board of War from November, 1777, to April, 1778. He died July 23, 1778.

[10] Maj. Isaac Sherman, son of Roger Sherman, of the Twenty-sixth Continental Infantry. He was lieutenant colonel of the Second Connecticut Regiment in January, 1777; lieutenant colonel and commandant of the Eighth Connecticut Regiment in October, 1779; transferred to the Fifth Connecticut Regiment in January, 1781; retired Jan. 1, 1783.

Officer; whom the General Officers have omitted to set down in their Lists, expecting I suppose (if they thought of him at all), that he would be provided for in the Massachusetts Regiments, because he is in one at this time. But as it is probable, promotions in that State will be confined to their own people, I should apprehend that he should be properly noticed in your appointments, lest we should loose an Officer, who so far as I can judge, promises good Services to his Country.

On yesterday morning, three Ships of War 2 of 44 and the other of 20 Guns, with two or three Tenders, passed up the North River, without meeting any interruption from the Chivaux defrise or receiving any material damage from our Batteries; tho' they kept a heavy fire at them from both sides of the River; their views most probably are to cut off all supplies of Boards &c. which might come down the River and of which we shall have great need. I have given directions, to proceed as fast as possible in carrying on the Obstructions and I would fain hope, if they allow us a little more time, that they will be so far compleated, as to render the passage dangerous, if not altogether insecure. I have the honor etc.

P. S. In respect to the appointment of officers, I would beg leave to add, that the merit of the officers who went thro' the Canada expedition with General Arnold, should in my opinion be particularly noticed: They are now upon their parole and Cannot Act; but should not suitable provision be made for them against their Releasement, which I should suppose ought to be among the first.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 9, 1776.

Parole. ———. Countersign ———.

The General positively forbids covering the bottoms of Tents with Earth, as in a few days that situation, must render them

totally unfit for service—The commanding Officer of each Corps, will take care to see that this Order is strictly complied with in his own Encampment—In Order that the Regiments may get out of Tents as soon as possible, the Brigadiers may apply to the Qr. Mr. General for Boards, and under his direction, employ the spare time of their men in building Barracks, or Hutts, fit for Winter use. These Hutts, or Barracks, are to be built with regularity. The Works of defence are not to be retarded by these buildings; they are to be advanced by the men off duty, if tools are to be had for them to work.

The respective Brigadiers are to inquire into the state of the Ammunition of their Brigades, and every Colonel is to have a Box of spare Cartridges, to supply occasional deficiencies.

Edward Sherburne Esqr. is appointed Aide-De-Camp to General Sullivan, and is to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

David Dexter Esqr. is appointed to act as Brigade Major to the Brigade under Col Lippet.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 10, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

If the weather is favourable to morrow morning, the General purposes to visit the troops at their Alarm posts. Commanding Officers of regiments, and others, are desired to make themselves well acquainted with their Alarm Posts, and the best ways to them; And also with the Ground in general, upon which they may be called to act, so as to avail themselves of every advantage. If Officers do not acquire this knowledge, they will miss the best opportunity of distinguishing themselves, and serving their Country.

If there should be any bad weather, the greatest care is to be taken of the Arms and Ammunition; and Officers must attend

to it themselves, or, from experience we know, there will be great danger of their being unfit for action.

Whenever any Field Officer is sick, leaves the Camp, or by any other means becomes incapable of duty, his Brigade Major is desired to signify it to the Adjutant General, otherwise it is impossible to have the duty regularly done.

Daniel Murphey of Capt. Edward's[11] Company, 3rd. Pennsylvania Battalion; Thomas Dickens of Capt. Hobby's[12] Company Col Ritzema's Regiment—John Stone of Capt. Grubb's[13] Company, Col Brodhead's Battalion—All having been tried by a Court Martial whereof Col Weedon is President, and convicted of "Desertion"—are sentenced to receive 39 Lashes each—the above Daniel Murphey having been convicted by the same Court Martial of "Inlisting into another Regiment"—is sentenced to receive 39 Lashes for that offence.

The General approves the above Sentences, and orders them to be executed at the usual time and place.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 10, 1776.

Dear Sir: I am now to acknowledge your favor of the 1st. Instt, and to inform you, that the two Sachems of the Caughnuagas, with Mr. Deane the Interpreter, have been with me and spent three or four days. I shewed them every Civility in my power and presented them with such Necessaries as our barren Stores afford, and they were pleased to take. I also had them shewn all our Works upon this Island, which I had

[11] Capt. Evan Edwards. He was transferred to Hartley's Additional Continental regiment Jan. 1, 1777; aide to General Lee this year; major of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment in 1779; transferred to the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in 1781; retired Jan. 1, 1783.

[12] Capt. David Hobby, of the Third New York Regiment. Later he was major of New York Militia.

[13] Capt. Peter Grubb, of Miles's Pennsylvania rifle battalion. He resigned in July, 1778.

manned to give 'em an Idea of our force and to do away the false notions they might have embibed, from the Tales which had been propagated among 'em. They seemed to think we were amazingly strong and said they had seen enough, without going to our posts in Jersey or the other side of Harlem River. They took their departure Yesterday morning and I hope with no unfavourable impressions.

Your favor of the 6th, came to hand this day by Mr. Bennet, I have communicated the Contents, so far as it respects the Boards, to General Mifflin, who has resumed the Office of Quarter Master General, on Mr. Moylans resignation and the Application of Congress, he will write you to morrow about them, and will send the sum you require, by the return of Mr. Bennet.

It gives me great pleasure to hear the Army is so well supplied with provision, and I would fain hope, that if the Enemy do not effect any thing in this or the next Month, that they will not attempt to pass the Lakes till early in the Spring, by which time perhaps we may be able to recruit our Army, tho' I have my fears that the Business will not go on with the ease and expedition, that I could wish. I have done all I could and urged strongly the propriety of giving the Soldiers a Suit of Cloaths annually; how Congress will determine on the Subject I know not, I have also advised the raising of the Officers pay.

We are again deprived of the Navigation of this River by three Ships of War, Two of 44 and the other of 20 Guns with three or four Tenders passing our Chivaux de frize Yesterday Morning, and all our Batteries, without any kind of damage or interruption, notwithstanding a Heavy fire was kept up from both sides of the River. I have given directions to compleat the Obstructions as fast as possible, and I flatter myself, if they allow us a little time more that the passage will become

extremely difficult, if not entirely insecure. Their views I imagine are chiefly, to cut off our Supplies and probably to gain recruits. I am, etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 11, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Col Ewing,[14] Lt. Col Penrose,[15] Major Fitzgerald,[16] Capts. Thorne,[17] Ballard,[18] Packay,[19] and Yates,[20] to sit as a Court of Enquiry into the Conduct of Col Van Cortlandt,[21] and Major Dey,[22] towards each other; to meet this afternoon at 3'O'Clock, at the Court Martial Room, and make report as soon as possible to the General—Brigade Majors to give them immediate notice.

———Talmadge[23] Esqr. is appointed Brigade Major to Genl. Wadsworth, and is to be obeyed, and respected accordingly.

As there is an absolute necessity for the business of the Army to be carried on with regularity, and to do this, that the officers of each department should have the regulation and direction of matters, appertaining to their respective Offices, in Order that they may become amenable to the public, or the Commander in Chief, when called upon—It is hereby directed by the General, that No Horse, or Waggon, shall be taken by any Officer, of whatever Rank, without an Order from Head Quarters, the Qr. Mr. General, or Waggon-Master General: But when either

[14] Col. Thomas Ewing, of the Third Maryland Battalion, Flying Camp.
[15] Lieut. Col. Joseph Penrose, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.
[16] Maj. John Fitzgerald, of the Third Virginia Regiment.
[17] Capt. Joseph(?) Thorne, of the New Jersey Militia.
[18] Capt. William Hudson Ballard, of the Sixth Continental Infantry.
[19] Capt. Aquila Paca, of the Second Maryland Battalion, Flying Camp.
[20] Capt. Thomas Yates, of the Second Maryland Battalion, Flying Camp.
[21] Col. Pierre Van Cortlandt, of the New York Militia.
[22] Maj. Richard Dey, of the New Jersey Militia.
[23] Benjamin Tallmadge. He was captain in the Second Continental Dragoons in December, 1776; major in April, 1777; thanked by Congress Dec. 6, 1780, for the capture of Fort St. George on Long Island, N. Y.; managed the secret service of the main army around New York City from 1778 to the end of the war.

are wanted for regimental uses, the application shall go from the Commanding Officer of the regiment, in writing to the Q: M: Gl: or W. M. Gl. who will issue his orders therefor; and if wanted for the dispatch of public business the application to be made by the Engineer in writing—all Teams belonging to the public, or in their pay, are to be delivered to the Quarter Master General, registered, and under his direction.—The Quarter Master General is to take especial care of all Grain and Hay, belonging to the Public, and see that none of it is delivered, but by his order: And as these Articles are scarce, it is ordered, that all Officers, whose duty does not oblige them to be on horseback, dispose of the Horses, or send them out of Camp, immediately, as provender cannot be spared for them on any pretence.

No Boards are to be taken for the use of any Brigade, or Regiment, without orders, nor delivered but by order of the Quarter Master General, who is to make as equal a distribution among the Regiments as may be, and see they are put to the best use possible, and with as little waste, as there may be difficulty in getting them.

Mutual Complaints having been made by Mr. Fisk the Engineer, and Mr Kinsey the Waggon Master against each other. A Court of enquiry of *3* Captains, and *4* Subs—from Genl McDougall's Brigade to sit, and report the matter, with their opinion thereon; to meet to morrow Afternoon at 3 o'Clock, at the Court Martial room.

The General being accidentally prevented, from going to the Alarm-posts this morning; if the weather is fair, he will visit the Troops to morrow morning, accompanied by the General Officers; he hopes the whole line will turn out as full as possible.

The time of the Fatigue Men going out is altered to 8 O'Clock, instead of Seven—The men are to breakfast before

they go, as they are not to leave Work on that account. The General hopes the officers will exert themselves, to complete the works, as fast as possible, that the men may be the sooner covered.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 11, 1776.

Sir: I beg leave to inform you, that since my Letter of the 8th. and 9th Instt. which I had the honor of addressing you; Nothing of importance has occurred, except that the Ships of War, which I then mentioned, in their passage up the River, took a Sloop that was at Anchor off the Mouth of Spitendevil, and Two of our Row Gallies, which they out Sailed. The Crews finding that they could not prevent them falling into the Enemy's Hands, run them near the Shore and effected their own escape. From the Intelligence I have received, the Ships are now laying at Tarry Town, without having landed any Men, which seemed to be apprehended by some, or attempted any thing else. Their principal views, in all probability, are, to interrupt our Navigation and to receive such disaffected persons, as incline to take part against us; the former they will effect beyond all question, and I fear, that their expectations respecting the latter, will be but too fully answered.[24]

October 12.

The Inclosed Copy of a Letter received last night from the Convention of this State, will shew you the apprehensions they are under, on account of the disaffected among them. I have ordered up a part of the Militia from the Massachusetts under General Lincoln, to prevent if Possible, the Consequences

[24] Col. Joseph Phillips, of the New Jersey Militia, wrote to Washington (on or about October 12) begging to be allowed to finish the battery he was erecting at Fort Washington to help in such emergencies as this. Lieut. Col. Robert H. Harrison replied for the General (October 12), approving the request and complimenting Phillips upon his motives, which the Commander in Chief "would be happy to see prevail generally through the army." Phillips's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

which they suggest may happen, and which there is reason to believe the Conspirators have in Contemplation; I am persuaded that they are upon the eve of breaking out, and that they will leave nothing unessayed that will distress us and favor the designs of the Enemy, as soon as their Schemes are ripe for it.[25]

October 13.

Yesterday the Enemy landed at Frog's point about Nine Miles from hence further up the Sound. Their number we cannot ascertain, as they have not advanced from the point, which is a kind of Island, but the Water that surrounds it is fordable at low tide. I have ordered works to be thrown up at the passes from the point to the Main. From the great number of Sloops, Schooners and Nine Ships, that went up the Sound in the Evening full of Men, and from the information of two Deserters who came over last night, I have reason to believe, that the greatest part of their Army, has moved upwards, or is about to do it, pursuing their original plan of getting [with an intent (as I suppose) to get] in our rear and cutting off our communication with the Country. The grounds [leading] from Frogs point [to Kings Bridge,] are strong and defensible, being full of Stone fences, both along the road and across the adjacent Fields, which will render it difficult for Artillery, or indeed [for a] a large Body of foot to advance in any regular [way] order except through the main road. Our men who are posted on the passes seemed to be in good spirits when I left 'em last night. [When I left our people last night they seemed to be in good Spirits.] I am &c.[26]

[25] A copy of the letter of October 10 from the New York Legislature is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

[26] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The portions in brackets show the form of the draft which Harrison altered in those minor particulars when he made the fair copy for Washington's signature. According to indorsement, this letter was read in Congress October 15. It is further indorsed: "nothing to be reported on this Letter."

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Haerlem Heights, October 11, 1776.

Dr. Sir: The Ships which have got up the River with their Tenders (and now two of our Row Galleys) must be well attended to, or they may undertake something against our Stores, Craft, or &ca. at Spiten devil, delay no time therefore in having some Work thrown up at the Mouth of that Creek for the defence of what lyes within, and to prevent Surprizes.

A Small number of Troops Imbark'd on Long Island yesterday (behind Montrasors Island) and appeard to steer to the Eastward. How far they went I know not, they were Hessions and of those I saw not more than a hundred. It might not be amiss to inform Gen. Lincoln of this but in such a man'r as to occasion a good look out along the Sound without spreading an alarm. I am, etc. [MS. H. S.]

RECRUITING INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLONEL EDWARD HAND

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 11, 1776.

Sir: You are immediately to Inlist such of your Regiment or any other Troops raised in the province of Pennsylvania, as are able of Body and Willing to enter into the Service of the United States of America, upon the following Terms.

1st. You are not to inlist any but Freemen, able of Body and under the age of 50. Carefully avoiding all persons Labouring under any Lameness or other Defect of Body prejudicial to the Service. If any such persons or any Boys or decripid persons are brought into the Service, the Officer inlisting them will be chargeable with the Expence they may be to the publick.

2dly. You are not to inlist any Deserters from the Army of the King of Great Britain, or persons of Disaffected and

Suspicious Character, the American Service having already Suffered greatly by the Desertion of such persons.

3dly. You are to inlist Men to serve during the Continuance of the present War, between Great Brittain and the States of America, unless sooner Discharged by proper Authority.

4thly. The Men inlisted by you are to be Subject to the Rules and Articles for the Government of the Army published by Congress the 20th. Septemr. 1776. and are to sign those Articles.

As an Encouragement to such persons as shall inlist in the above Service you are Authorized to engage besides the Pay and provisions now allowed.

1st. Each Soldier shall receive 20 Dollars Bounty Money, on being approved by a Major General, a Brigadier General or Colo. Comdt., of a Brigade.

Secondly. He shall also be entitled to 100 Acres of Land, at the expiration of his inlistment, and in case of his Death in the Service, his Representatives will be intitled thereto.

When any person is inlisted, you are as soon as Convenient to take him to some person duly Authorized by the above Articles to take the Oath there prescribed. I am &c.[27]

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
October 11, 1776.

Dear Sir: I this morning received your favour of the 7th. Instt. and am to inform you, that it is not in my power to supply you with a single Nail, nor are they to be procured in Philadelphia, as Genl. Mifflin tells me, who has Just returned from thence. For want of them, we are building here, Huts of Sod Logs &c. to cover the Troops and which I am in hopes will make a tolerable good shift.

[27] The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed; the copy in the "Letter Book," in that of John Fitzgerald, is corrected by Reed.

Since my Letter of Yesterday, nothing has Occurred, and I have only to add that, I am &c.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 12, 1776.

Sir: The situation of our affairs, and the approaching dissolution of the present Army, calling for every possible exertion on our part to levy a New one; and presuming that your State are about to make an arrangement of Officers, for the quota of Troops they are to furnish, and that they may wish to know those belonging to them, who have served with reputation and bravery; I have thought it expedient, to obtain a return by such means as seemed most likely to be well founded. To this End, I have made inquiry, and the inclosed list which I have the honor to transmit you, comprehends the Names of those, who in public Estimation, and that of the Generals under whom they have more particularly acted, have behaved themselves well and to good acceptance; and whose past Conduct give a reasonable hope, that their future will render material services to their Country.

The Advantages arising from a judicious appointment of Officers, and the fatal consequences that result from the want of them, are too obvious to require Arguments to prove them; I shall, therefore, beg leave to add only, that as the well doing, nay the very existence of every Army, to any profitable purposes, depend upon it, that too much regard cannot be had to the choosing of Men of Merit and such as are, not only under the influence of a warm attachment to their Country, but who also possess sentiments of principles of the strictest honor. Men of this Character, are fit for Office, and will use their best endeavours to introduce that discipline and subordination, which are essential to good order, and inspire that Confidence in the

Men, which alone can give success to the interesting and important contest in which we are engaged. I would also beg leave to subjoin, that it appears to me absolutely necessary, that this business should have your earliest attention, that those, who are nominated, may employ their interest and influence, to recruit Men out of your Corps that are now here, without loss of time.

In respect to the Officers that were in the Canada expedition, their behaviour and merit, and the severities they have experienced, entitle them to a particular notice, in my opinion. However, as they are under their paroles, I would recommend that vacancies should be reserved, for such as you think fit to promote, not wishing them to accept Commissions immediately, or to do the least Act, that may be interpreted a violation of their engagement. Their releasement, I hope, will be soon obtained, as I think them entitled to the first exchange, and which I have mentioned to Congress.

I flatter myself, that the freedom I have taken, in the instances above, will have the indulgence and Pardon of your State, when I assure you, that the list, you will receive, is not intended to exclude Gentlemen of greater merit, or transmitted with other views, than to assist you, and of promoting the General good; and, also, that the measure has been recommended by a Committee of Congress, who were pleased to honor me with a Visit. I have done the same to Governor Trumbull, at his particular request; and the Officers are making out a Return, to be laid before the Massachusetts Assembly, of the same Nature, so far as it concerns the Officers from their State. * * *[28]

I like to have omitted mentioning of a Pay master to each Regiment, who I perceive are not noticed in the list transmitted you. Congress by a late Resolution, have allowed such an

[28] The omitted paragraph repeats the news of the British ships sailing up the Hudson, as given in Washington's letter to Congress, Oct. 8, 1776, *q. v.*

Officer with Captain's pay and as their duty will be not only to receive the Regiment's Pay, but to keep Accounts of their Cloathing and every other incidental charge; I would beg leave to recommend, that attention should be had to their appointment and that Persons may be nominated who are well versed in Accounts and who can keep them in a fair and proper Manner. I am led to advise this precaution to be used, because it will be an Office of a good deal of Consequence, and because in several Instances in the present Army, where the Appointments were made in Consequence of recommendations from the field Officers; Persons have been put in, who so far from being Accountants, and Answering the designs of Congress, can scarcely write their own names.

October 13.

Yesterday the Enemy landed at Frogs Point, * * *[29] and from the Situation of the Grounds, thro' which they must Pass, if they pursue their Plan, I would fain hope they will sustain considerable Loss, if not a repulse. I have the Honor etc.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 12, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General orders, that one man from every Mess, be kept cooking, till there are provisions dressed for three days—The Butchers are also to keep killing.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 13, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General expressly orders, that the men have four days provisions *ready dressed,* at all times, for which purpose the

[29] The omitted paragraph is a repetition of the last one in Washington's letter to Congress, Oct. 11 [12 and 13], 1776, *q. v.*

Commissaries, or the Deputies, are to keep the Butchers constantly killing, till such supply is had, and one man from every Mess is to be kept cooking—The commanding Officers of Regiments, and others, are most earnestly requested to see this order carried into immediate execution.

Supplies of Ammunition may now be had, so that any Officer who now neglects getting what is necessary, must be accountable to his Country, and the men under his command.

When any Regiments are about to march, they are to have their Tents struck, rolled up, and a Guard under the Command of a careful Officer, to attend them, and the Baggage; who is not under any pretence to leave them, without orders.

As the Enemy seem now to be endeavouring to strike some stroke, before the Close of the Campaign, the General most earnestly conjures, both Officers and Men, if they have any Love for their Country, and Concern for its Liberties; Regard to the safety of their Parents, Wives, Children and Countrymen; that they will act with Bravery and Spirit, becoming the Cause in which they are engaged; And to encourage, and animate them so to do, there is every Advantage of Ground and Situation, so that if we do not conquer, it must be our own fault—How much better will it be to die honorable, fighting in the field, than to return home, covered with shame and disgrace; even if the cruelty of the Enemy should allow you to return? A brave and gallant behaviour for a few days, and patience under some little hardships, may save our Country, and enable us to go into Winter Quarters with safety and honour.[30]

The marching of some troops to Kingsbridge, makes it necessary to reduce the Picquet to 600 Men, and the Fatigue proportionately.

[30] On October 13, at noon, a meeting of general officers was called by the Commander in Chief, at Kings Bridge. Through Adjutant General Reed he requested General Heath to select the location and give his officers notice "with as little stir as possible."

To COLONEL THOMAS TASH

Head Quarters, October 13, 1776.

Sir: Since I wrote you by Lieutt. Colo. Welch[31] upon the Subject of fixing on Quarters for your Troops, I have received from the Committee of Safety for this State, such an account of its alarming Situation, owing to the Number of disaffected, together with the little Confidence that can be placed on the Militia of some of the Counties, that I find it necessary to order a part of the New Hampshire Troops to their Assistance, and do therefore direct you to march your Regiment with all possible dispatch to Fish Kills, where you will receive further directions from the Committee. I think it will be proper to send an Officer forward, to give the Committee notice of your coming, that they may assign you the places where it will be most suitable to post your men. I am &c.

P. S. do not delay your march a moment, nor the sending an Officer to the Convention of this State now setting at the Fish Kills.[32]

[31] Lieut. Col. Joseph Welch, of the New Hampshire Militia.

[32] On October 14 Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to the President of Congress, Washington having gone to visit the posts above Kings Bridge and the passes from Throgs Point:

"Every day's intelligence from the Convention of this State, holds forth discoveries of new plots, and of new conspiracies. Some of the Members seem to apprehend, that insurrections are upon the Eve of breaking out, and have suggested the necessity of seizing and securing the passes thro' the Highlands, lest the disaffected should do it. Their preservation being a matter of the greatest importance, his Excellency, notwithstanding the situation we are in with respect to Troops, has detached Colo. Tash with his Regiment, lately from New Hampshire, in addition to the Militia mentioned in his last, with directions to receive Orders from the Convention as to the Station and posts he is to occupy.

"There are now in our possession Several persons, Inhabitants of this State, who had engaged to join the Enemy, and who were intercepted in going to them; there are also two, who confess they have been with them and that they had actually engaged in their service; but finding the Terms, (the bounty, pay, &c.) not so advantageous as they expected from the information they had received, they were induced to return. As the Affairs of this Government are in a precarious situation, and such as the Convention themselves seem to think, forbid their interposition, farther than taking measures to apprehend them, his Excellency would wish to obtain the sentiments

To MAJOR GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 13, 1776.

Sir: I have been favoured with your two Letters of the 3rd. and 6th. Instt. In answer to the first, I am not only willing but shall be much obliged by your Settling with the Gentlemen, to whom Money was advanced for purchasing Arms, and for which purpose, I have transmitted a List of the Warrants that were drawn in their favor. Before I left Cambridge, some of the Gentlemen, (three, four or more of them) accounted with me, but having sent away my Books, in which their Names and the ballances they paid in, were inclosed, sometime before the evacuation of New York, I cannot particularize them, and therefore have forwarded a List of the whole.

In respect to the latter and the Invoice it contains, as the Articles seem all to be necessary, and many of them are much wanted, I think you cannot do better, than to order them to be sent to the Quarter Master General for the use of the Army here.

We are again deprived of the navigation of the North River, and the supplies which used to come thro' that Channel, by means of the Enemy's fleet, three of their Ships of War with three or four Tenders having passed our Batteries and Chiveaux de frize on the morning of the 9th * * *[33] They now lay at Tarry town, twenty five or thirty Miles above this. * * * I am etc.[34]

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of Congress and their direction, upon a Subject so extremely critical and delicate, and which in the consideration of it, involves many important consequences."

According to General Heath (*Memoirs*): The nonarrival of the post was the reason for not writing Congress since October 12. On the 14th the officers reconnoitered the British at Throgs Neck. When Washington placed Lee in command above Kings Bridge he requested him not to exercise his authority for a day or two until he could make himself acquainted with the ground and the situation.

[33] The omitted portions recite the same information as to the ships and the British landing at Throgs Point as in Washington's letter to Congress, Oct. 11 [12 and 13], 1776, *q. v.*

[34] The letter sent is in the possession of Judge E. A. Armstrong, of Princeton, N. J., to whose kindness the editor is indebted. It varies from the "Letter Book" copy only in capitalization.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 14, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Col Bailey's[35] Regiment is immediately to join Genl. Clinton's Brigade, at present under the Command of Col Glover—Col Lippets Regt. is to join Genl. McDougall's Brigade—Each of these Regiments are to take their Tents and Cooking Utensils, and to lose no time—The two Connecticut Regiments, under the Command of Col. Storrs and Major Greaves, (not upon York Island) are to be in readiness to march into Westchester, at a moments warning.

The Brigades which will then remain on the Island, will be in two Divisions; the first composed of Heard's, Beall's and Weedon's,[36] to be under the Command of Major Genl. Putnam—The second consisting of Lord Sterling's, Wadsworth's, and Fellows's, to be under the Command of Major General Spencer.

Genl. Putnam will attend particularly to all the works, and necessary places of defence, from the Line which was intended to be run across from Head Quarters, inclusively up to, and including the Works upon, the Island above that place, as far as hath usually been considered as belonging to this division of the Army—He will also attend particularly to the Works about Mount Washington, and to the obstructions in the River, which should be increased as fast as possible.

Genl. Spencer is to take charge of all the Works from Head Quarters, to our front lines, to the South; and attend particularly to all weak places; seeing they are secured as well as time,

[35] Col. John Bailey, of the Twenty-third Continental Infantry.

[36] Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Heard's New Jersey Militia, Brig. Gen. Rezin Beall's Maryland Militia, and Col. George Weedon's Virginia brigade.

and circumstances will permit: But as there may be more fatigue Men wanted in one division than the other, they are each to furnish for such Works as the Chief Engineer shall direct; seeing that the duty fall equally upon the officers and men of each division.

A Report is immediately to be made, by the commanding Officers of Regiments, to their several Brigadiers, of the state of ready dress'd Provisions, that if there be any Neglect, or deficiency the one may be punished and the other rectified.

The Court Martial of which Col Weedon was President is dissolved—A new one to be formed, Col Ewing to preside.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 15, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Col. Joseph Reed's[37] Regiment is to join Gen McDougall's Brigade and Col Hutchinson's (when the Work he is ordered to execute is finished, is to join Genl. Clinton's Brigade, at present under the Command of Col Glover.

Sergeant's, Ward's and Chester's,[38] Regiments, and the Regiment commanded by Lieut. Col Storrs, are to form a Brigade and be under the Command of Col Sergeant.

Col Storr's and the Regiment under Major Greaves,[39] are to march immediately into Westchester—The first to join the Brigade he is appointed to; the other to join the Regiments commanded by Cols. Douglass and Ely,[40] and with them be under the Command of Genl. Salstonstall; as Cols. Horseford's[41] and Major Rogers's Regiments are (but to remain

[37] Col. Joseph Read, of the Thirteenth Continental Infantry.
[38] Col. John Chester, of a Connecticut State regiment.
[39] Maj. Silvanus Graves, of the Seventh Connecticut Militia Regiment.
[40] Cols. John Douglas and John Ely, of the Connecticut Militia.
[41] Col. Obediah Horseford, of the Connecticut Militia.

where they at present are, 'till further orders) These five Regiments to compose Genl Salstonstall's brigade.

The other two Connecticut Regiments, encamped upon Harlem River, opposite Head Quarters, are for the present, from their situation, to be annexed to Genl. Parsons's Brigade, and be under his command.

The Brigades are now to be formed into Divisions (Those on York Island as mentioned in Yesterday's Orders) Nixon's, McDougall's, and that commanded by Col Glover, to compose one, under the Command of Major Genl. Lee—Parsons's, Scott's, and Clinton's another, under the Command of Major Genl. Heath—Salstonstall's, Sergeant's and Hand's, another, under the Command of Major General Sullivan; and the Massachusetts militia another, under the Command of Major Genl. Lincoln.

The General in most pressing terms exhorts all Officers commanding divisions, brigades and regiments &c. to have their Officers, and the Men, under their respective Commands, properly informed of what is expected from them; that no Confusion may arise in case we should be suddenly called to Action, which there is no kind of doubt, is near at hand, and he hopes, and flatters himself, that the only contention will be, who shall render the most acceptable service to his Country, and his Posterity. The General also desires, that the Officers will be particularly attentive to the men's Arms and Ammunition, that there may be no deficiency, or application for Cartridges, when we are called into the field.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 15, 1776.

Sir: I was last night favored with your Letter of the 6th. Inst., with the return of Prisoners in your State, for which I thank you. It is properly made out.

Every day's intelligence, from the Convention of this State, mentions Plots and Conspiracies, that are in Agitation among the disaffected. The inclosed Copy of a Letter, which I received yesterday from Robert R Livingston Esqr., one of the Members and who is of the Continental Congress, will shew you his Idea of the Situation of Affairs in this Government, and their apprehensions of insurrections.[42] The observations he has been pleased to favor me with, thro' the whole of this Letter, seem to me, to be too well founded; the movements of the Enemy; their having sent up some of their Ships in the North River; their landing a large proportion, if not the main Body of their Army on Frog's Point, (or rather Island, as it is surrounded by Water every Flood tide) Nine Miles above this on the Sound; added to these, the information of deserters, all afford a strong presumption, nay almost a certainty, that they are pursuing their Original Plan of getting in our rear and Cutting off all our supplies. Our situation here is not exactly the same as it was at New York; it is rather better. However, as we are obliged to divide our force, and guard every probable place of attack as well as we can—As most of our Stores are here and about Kingsbridge, and the preservation of the Communication with the States on the other side of Hudson's River, a Matter of great importance; it will not be possible for me to detach any more assistance, than what I have already done, for the purpose of securing the passes in the Highlands. I have sent Colo. Tash, lately from New Hampshire with his Regiment upon the Business, and as it is of the utmost consequence to possess those passes, and to hold them free and open, I would beg leave to submit to your consideration, whether you can spare any aid upon this interesting occasion. I know your exertions already are great; I know you have a large number of Men

[42] Livingston's letter, dated Oct. 12, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*. In it he sketches out the danger of a British advance from the north and the need of a force in the Highlands.

engaged in the Service, in this and the Northern Army; and nothing could have induced me to mention this Matter to you, were it not for the Alarming and melancholy consequences, which will result from the Enemy's possessing themselves of those Communications. The Regiment I have ordered up, are to receive directions from the Convention, as to the Posts they are to occupy; supposing them to be much better acquainted, with the Places, where they should be stationed, than I am. If it is in your Power to afford any Assistance in this Instance, you will be pleased to give such instructions to those you send, as you shall judge necessary. I am just dispatching an Engineer to the Convention, to throw up some small Works. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I have sent Two Regiments of the Massachusetts Militia up the River to watch the Motions of the Ships and to oppose any landing of men that they may attempt. I am also extending every Part of my force that I possibly can, towards East and West Chester, to oppose the Enemy and prevent their effecting their Plan, if it shall be practicable; but our numbers being far inferior to the demands for men, I cannot Answer for what may happen, the most in my Power shall be done.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Heights of Harlem,
October 16, 1776.

Sir: I have been favored with your several Letters of the 11th. and 13th. Instant with their Inclosures. The first that I received, would have been Answered sooner, had I been able to have furnished the necessary Intelligence respecting the Enemy's Ships of War, in the Sound above Hell Gate. This induced me to detain the Express a day, in expectation of gaining a more

Certain information of this fact, than what had then come to my knowledge. By some deserters who came a shore from their Shipping at Frog's-Point yesterday, and who (from what I could discover on their examination) I think in this Instance are deserving of Credit; "I am acquainted that there are now between Hell Gate and Frog's Point five Ships of War; The Fowey of 24 Guns, The LeBrune of 32, The Carysfort of 28, The Niger of 32. and Halifax of 16, and that the Mercury and one other Ship are cruising off Block Island"; whether their Number may be augmented or diminished in a short time, is more than I can say; though I must observe, that the Enemy's Frigates of 28 Guns, (as we have found from experience) are not deterred from passing through Hell Gate. I would therefore strongly advise, in case an attack on the Ships of War near Frog's Point, should be determined on, that Tenders or other small Craft should be sent a head, for the purpose of discovering with certainty the Number and Strength of the Enemy; who from the circumstances I have mentioned, may be easily reinforced. As to furnishing any Soldiers from this Army, towards Manning your Ships, it is what I am sorry under the present appearances of things, I cannot comply with, the Enemy being too powerful on this Quarter to admit of any diminution of the Troops who are to oppose them. For this reason also, I cannot afford any reinforcement to Colo. Livingston,[43] to augment his detachment, from Twelve hundred to two thousand, which you think would be necessary; indeed, as we have received information, that the Enemy have been considerably reinforced by the arrival of Hessians; and as they have from Accounts, drawn almost their whole force to Frog's Point, I think it would be highly advisable (unless the expedition to Long Island is in such forwardness, as to be carried into

[43] Col. Henry Beekman Livingston, of the Third New York Regiment.

execution immediately), to send forward the two Massachusetts regiments, who were detained for that particular Service; should it be determined to proceed to Long Island, I cannot interfere by any means in giving the Command to a younger officer. With respect to the Stores at Norwalk and the other Towns you have mentioned, I have ordered them from thence; thinking this method more eligible than to furnish Troops (of which we are in such want) for their defence. I did myself the pleasure of writing to you a few days ago, which I imagine you have received. I am etc.

P. S. I have just received the examination of another deserter, who says he came away from the Dolphin (last Thursday) a Sixty Gun ship, in the Sound above Hell Gate, but this I am in doubt about; at any rate (I imagine) if it is true, it must be known to you by information of the Inhabitants living on the Sound.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JACOB BAYLEY

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 17, 1776.

Sir: I have yours of the 15th. Instt. by Mr. Wallace, with an Account of the Expence incurred in cutting a Road from Coos to St. Johns, the amount £932..16..5½ lawful Money.[44] There are some few Errors in casting out the different Articles, but they may be easily rectifyed when a Settlement is made.

I have it not in my power to make objections to any part of the Account, as I cannot but suppose that it is all just and what has really been paid or agreed to be paid, but proper Vouchers should accompany all public Accounts, and these Mr. Wallace tells me you can furnish. The most Material is a Muster Roll of the Men employed, shewing the time of their Engagement

[44] Bayley's letter and accounts, dated Oct. 15, 1776, are in the *Washington Papers*.

for the Service and that of their Discharge. It is probable no Receipts may have been taken for some of the Articles, but you will please to furnish them for as many as you are able. I beg I may be clearly understood, I do not call for Vouchers, because I Suspect you of charging more than is Justly due, but because it is necessary that they should accompany all public Accounts that pass thro' my Hands. When this is done the Accounts shall be adjusted and paid by, Sir, &c.

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 17, 1776.

Sir: On Monday last I was honored with your favor of the 5th Instt. and beg leave to inform you, that the reasons which you assign for Countermanding Colo Richmond's[45] march appear to me strong and Substantial. As to the expedition to long Island, it is impossible for me to give any direction about it, it must be governed by a Variety of Circumstances; nor will it be in my power, to appoint any Person to Command it; the situation of our affairs here, requiring the presence of every Officer of the least merit, for the government of this Army.

In respect to your request, to have a list transmitted, of such Officers as have served to good acceptance; I am happy that I had anticipated your views and those of your Honble. Assembly in this instance, before the receipt of your favor, I wrote you fully on the subject in a Letter I had the Honor of addressing you on the 12th, sending you a list of such Officers as were particularly recommended for the two Battalions you are to raise, to which I beg leave to refer you as it contains my Sentiments at large. I have the honor etc.

[45] Col. William Richmond, of the Rhode Island Militia.

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 17, 1776.

Gentn.: Judging it a Matter of the utmost importance, to secure the passes thro' the Highlands, I have sent up Monsr. Imbert[46] a French Gentleman, who has been placed in the Army, as an Engineer by Congress, in order to take your directions respecting the passes and such Works as you may Esteem necessary to preserve them. as the situation of affairs in this State is rather alarming, I would beg leave to recommend your earliest attention to this Business, and that no time may elapse before the Works are begun. I have no acquaintance with Monsr. Imbert, and his abilities in his profession remain to be proved; However, I trust under your care and advice, that whatever may be essential will be immediately done. I have the Honor etc.

P. S. I can spare no other Engineer, having but one besides.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 17, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

There are a number of priming-Wires and Brushes in the Commissary's Store, near Genl. Spencer's Quarters, and at Kingsbridge; in the latter a number of Pouches, which are to be distributed among the Brigades. The Brigadiers are desired to send to those places, where they may receive priming-Wires and Brushes; the Pouches are to be divided, and each Brigadier is to send for his proportion, as soon as possible and have them filled with spare Cartridges.

As the Movements of the Enemy make an Alteration of our position necessary,[47] and some Regiments are to move towards

[46] Capt. Jean Louis Imbert, who was commissioned by Congress September 19. He returned to San Domingo in April, 1777.

[47] On October 17 Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to the President of Congress:

"I am directed by his Excellency to acquaint you, that we are again obliged to change our disposition to counteract the Operations of the Enemy. declining an

them, the commanding and the other Officers of Regiments, are to see the following Orders punctually executed.—The Tents are to be struck, and carefully rolled, the men to take the Tent poles in their hands—two Men out of a Company with a careful Subaltern, to go with the Baggage, and not leave it on any pretence—No Packs (unless of Sick Men) Chairs, Tables, Benches or heavy lumber, to be put on the Waggons—No person, unless unable to walk, is to presume to get upon them—The Waggons to move forward before the Regiments, the Quarter-Master having first informed himself from the Brigadier, or Brigade Major, where they are to pitch—Every Regiment under marching orders, to see they have their Flints and Ammunition in good order and complete.

Lieut. Nevins[48] of Col Tylers Regiment is to do the duty of Captain, in the room of Major Chipman[49] lately promoted.

Daniel Lyman Esqr. is appointed Major of Brigade to Genl. Fellows, and is to be respected accordingly.

A General Court Martial whereof Col Ewing was President, having convicted Lieut. Pope[50] of the Rangers, of the scandalous Crime of "Conniving at plundering—contrary to frequent and express orders," and sentenced him to be cashiered; The General approves the sentence, and he is accordingly cashiered. The same Court having convicted Corporal Geo. Wilson[51] of

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Attack upon our Front, they have drawn the main body of their Army to Frogs point with a design of Hemming us in, and drawing a line in our Rear. To prevent the consequences which would but too probably follow the execution of their Scheme, the General Officers determined yesterday that our forces must be taken from hence, and extended towards East and West Chester so as to out flank them. Genl. Lee who arrived on Monday, has strongly urged the absolute necessity of the measure. It is proposed to leave a Garrison at Fort Washington, and to Maintain it if possible, in order to preserve the communication with the Jerseys. They are landing their Artillery and Waggons upon the point, and there are now several boats passing up the Sound full of Men."

[48] Lieut. David Nevins, of the Tenth Continental Infantry.

[49] Maj. James Chapman, of the Tenth Continental Infantry.

[50] Lieut. Jacob Pope, of the Twenty-first Continental Infantry. He was doing duty as a ranger at this time.

[51] Corp. George Wilson, of the Rangers.

"plundering Mr. Bushey's House at Harlem"—and sentenced him to receive 39 Lashes—The General approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed to morrow on the parade, before the Guards march off—The Provost Marshal to see it done.

Col Weedon's and Col Reed's Regiments to join Lord Stirling's Brigade immediately.

Major Parker[52] of Genl Heard's Brigade to attend the Works, and be excused other duty.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 18, 1776.

Parole Stamford. Countersign France.

As the Brigades of the Army now move at such distance from each other, that a punctual attendance, at Head-Quarters, for Orders, cannot be expected—One Brigade Major from each Major General's division, is to attend, as early in the day as he can—the several Brigade Majors, or Adjutants who act as such, are to attend him at a stated hour, and then distribute the Orders through the several Brigades, and Regiments, as fast as possible.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 18, 1776.

Sir: I was yesterday Morning honoured with your favor of the 15th. with the Resolutions of the 11th and 14th; the latter by which Congress have authorized me to appoint Monsr. Pennet a Brevet Aid de Camp, claims a return of my acknowledgements.

Last night I received a Letter from Mr. Varick[53] Secretary to Genl. Schuyler, inclosing a Copy of one from Genl Arnold

[52] Maj. Samuel Franklin Parker, of the New Jersey Militia.
[53] Richard Varick.

to Genl. Gates. The Intelligence transmitted by Genl Arnold being of an extremely interesting and important nature, I thought it advisable to forward the same immediately by Express. You have a Copy herewith, which contains the particulars and to which I beg leave to refer you.

The Accounts transmitted yesterday by Post, will inform you of the Movements of the Enemy, and of the Measures judged necessary to be pursued by us to counteract their designs. I have nothing to add on this Head, except that Ten or Eleven Ships which have been prevented passing Hell Gate for two or three days for want of Wind, are now under way and proceeding up the Sound. Amongst them appear to be Two Frigates, the rest probably have in Stores &c.

Inclosed is a Copy of the last General Return[54] I have been able to obtain. It only comes down to the 5th Inst. The situation of our Affairs and the almost constant necessity of sending detachments from one place to another, to watch the Enemy's Motions have prevented the Officers from making them with regularity. I have &c.[55]

To JOSEPH TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Kingsbridge, October 20, 1776.

Sir: This is designed to inform you of our alarming situation on account of the State of our provisions. From the last Intelligence I have been able to obtain, there are not more than Fifteen hundred Barrels of Flour here and at our posts on the Island of New York (including three Hundred that came from the Jerseys last night) and about Two Hundred Barrels of pork, nor do I learn, that there are many or but very few live

[54] This return is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 2, 907–910. It shows a rank and file strength of 14,145 present fit for duty, not counting the Artillery Corps and the Connecticut and Rhode Island Militia.

[55] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Cattle collected at any place within the Neighbourhood. As the passage across the North River is precarious, and much, if not intirely in the Enemy's power, but little or no dependance should be had in Supplies from that Quarter. I must therefore request and entreat your every possible exertion to have large Quantities of provisions carried to the interior parts of the Country, with the utmost expedition, out of the reach of the Enemy, who are trying to penetrate from the Sound and to form a line in our Rear,[56] from whence proper supplies may be immediately drawn for the Subsistence of our Troops. If this is not done, I fear, I am certain that the fatal consequences attending on Mutiny and plunder must ensue; indeed the latter, will be Authorized by Necessity. I cannot undertake to point out the particular places where stock should be drove to, But it is absolutely Necessary that large Quantities should be kept in our Rear, to be killed or moved, as occasion may require. If the Enemy advance from the Sound, so must we. They must never be allowed, if it is possible to avoid it, to get above us, and possess themselves of the upper Country. As soon as I heard that they had landed at Frogs point, and that they had digested a plan of getting into our Rear, I gave Orders that the provisions and other Stores should be removed from Norwalk &c.

[56] At half past 1 on the afternoon of October 20 Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Congress: "The Enemy are pursuing with great Industry their plan of penetrating the Country from the Sound, and of forming a Line in our Rear. They are now extended from Frog's Point to New Rochelle, from whence it is generally conjectured they mean to take their Route by way of the White Plains, and from thence to draw a Line to the North River. We on our part, have drawn our whole force, except the Regiments intended to Garrison Fort Washington, from the Island of New York, and have possessed ourselves of the Heights, passes and advantageous Grounds between New Rochelle, where the Van of their Army now lies, and the North River. They will in all probability attempt to effect their purpose by moving higher up, if they do, our Forces will move accordingly, it being a principal object to prevent their out flanking us. On Friday One of their advanced parties near East Chester fell in with part of Colo. Glover's Brigade and a smart and close Skirmish ensued, in which I have the pleasure to inform you our Men behaved with great coolness and Intrepidity and drove the Enemy back to their main body."

into the Country, to the White Plains as the first and most convenient Stage: Whither they have, I have no certain information. In short Sir, I beg that you will have supplies immediately in our Rear, to be drawn or moved back, as Circumstances may be, or the most fatal and alarming consequences to this Army, and the Liberties of America may and will in all probability follow. You must not stop on Account of expence, nor to collect large Quantities before they are sent off. Ten in a drove will be of material consequence.

I have ordered a respectable force for the protection of the provisions now at the plains. I am &c.

To COLONEL WILLIAM McINTOSH

White Plains, October 21, 1776.

Sir: I wrote to you a few days ago, desiring, if you did not find Matters ready for the Expedition to Long Island, that you would move forward with the two Massachusetts Regiments under your Command.[57] I have further reason to repeat my Orders to you on that Head. The Enemy are advancing by parties from their main Body which now lays at New Rochelle and taken possession of the Posts upon the Sound with design to cut off our Supplies from the Eastward by Water. They advanced early this Morning to Mamaroneck, which our people Shamefully abandonned at their Approach, not for want of Numbers, but want of a good Officer to lead on the Men.

I therefore again desire, that, if Matters are not ready for your intended Expedition, you would lay it aside for the present and march immediately with the two Regiments under your

[57] McIntosh, who was a colonel of Massachusetts Militia from 1776 to 1782, was then stationed at Fairfield, Conn.

Command towards Byram River, and also desire Lieut. Colo. Livingston to come forward with the Companies which he has under his Command. When you arrive at Byram River, you will send an Express forward to Brigr. Genl. Lord Stirling who Commands here, and he will give you Orders how to dispose of the Men under your Command. I am &c.[58]

*To JOSEPH TRUMBULL

White Plains, October 21, 1776.

Dear Sir: I wrote you yesterday expressive of my apprehensions on Acct. of Provision's for this Army, I came to this place just now in order to enquire further into the state of this Article, and to look a little into the Situation, and nature of the Country. I have no reason either from Information, or observation, to alter my opinion of yesterday; and therefore, again and again entreat your every exertion to supply these Troops in time with Flour and Beef for present use; to do this much Land Carriage will become unavoidable, of course no time [is to be] lost to provide a Number of Teams. Besides the Supplies necessary for immediate use, it is absolutely necessary for Magazines to be laid up in secure places removed from the Water, in Connecticut, and at such others as were mention'd in my last and Circumstances may direct.

The Enemy mean (from prest. appearances) either to get round us, or to Coast it along upon the Sound in order to destroy our Provisions and Stores; to prevent the first I am extending my line along as they do; to guard as much as possible against the Second, I have ordered the Officers in their several departments to remove as fast as possible all Continental property from the Water; but the want of Teams is a most dreadful misfortune. I shall only add, that as soon as you can put matters

[58] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

into a proper train in the Country, your presence at Camp will be much wanted, and that I am, etc. [C.S.L.]

To MAJOR ZEBDIEL ROGERS[59]

White Plains, October 21, 1776.

Sir: You are hereby requested to make the best stand you can, with the troops under your command, against the enemy, who, I am informed, are advanced this morning to Maroneck; and I will, as soon as possible, order a party to attack them in flank, of which you will be further informed in proper time. Be cautious of mentioning design. I am, etc.

Be pleased to send the enclosed by a faithful officer, to be communicated to all the troops on road through Connecticut.[60]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, Harlem Heights, October 21, 1776.

Parole Heath. Countersign Sullivan.

The hurried situation of the General for the two last days, having prevented him from paying that attention to Col Glover, and the officers and soldiers who were with him in the Skirmish on Friday last, that their merit and good behaviour deserved—He flatters himself that his thanks, tho' delayed, will nevertheless be acceptable to them, as they are offered with great sincerity and cordiality—At the same time he hopes, that every other part of the Army will do their duty, with equal duty and zeal whenever called upon; and that neither dangers, difficulties, or hardships will discourage Soldiers, engaged in the Cause of Liberty, and contending for all that Freemen hold dear and valuable.

[59] Of the New York Militia.
[60] The text is from Force's *American Archives*.

MEMORANDUM[61]

[Valentine's Hill], October 22, 1776.

Wrote Govr. Trumbull to Order the Troops intended for Fish Kills, to come by the Rear of Our Army at or near White Plains, to take Orders.

That Genl. Clinton can't be spared and advisg. the long Island expedition to be given over if the Troops are not on the very point of embarking and that they should be moved this way as they may be of material service in flankg. the Enemy and the situation of our Affairs callg. for every assistance.[62]

To MRS. FREDERICK PHILIPSE

Head Quarters, at Mr. Valentine's, October 22, 1776.

Madam: The Misfortunes of War, and the unhappy circumstances frequently attendant thereon to Individuals, are more to be lamented than avoided; but it is the duty of every one, to alleviate these as much as possible. Far be it from me then, to add to the distresses of a Lady, who, I am but too sensible, must already have suffered much uneasiness, if not inconvenience, on account of Colonel Philips's absence.

No special Order has gone forth from me, for removal of the stock of the Inhabitants; but, from the nature of the Case, and in consequence of some Resolutions of the Convention of this State, the measure has been adopted: However, as I am

[61] This memorandum, in Robert Hanson Harrison's writing, is entered on a letter dated Oct. 21, 1776, from Governor Trumbull to Washington.

[62] An example of the unnecessary difficulties inflicted on the Commander in Chief at this time is found in the letters of October 12 and 15 from the Board of War, which, among other things, requested an immediate return of the ordnance stores. Washington delegated Robert Hanson Harrison to reply, who explained (October 22) that the unsettled state of the Army rendered it impossible to furnish such a return and suggested that the Board establish magazines of ammunition and ordnance stores from which supplies could be drawn. "As large quantities are constantly in demand in time of war, he [Washington] does not conceive Your provision in these instances can be too great."

satisfied it is not meant to deprive Families of their necessary support, I shall not withhold my consent to your retaining such parts of your Stock as may be essential to this purpose; relying on your assurances and promise that no more will be detained; With great Respect, I am, Madam, etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Head Quarters, Valentines Hill, October 22, 1776.

Dear Sir: From my remote Situation, and my Ignorance of the Country in which the Army, under your Command to the Northward, is to act, it is impossible for me to give my peremptory Orders, or Scarcely my Opinion, as to the direction of Matters in your Quarter. I am confident your own good sense, Zeal and Activity will Suggest to you, the most probable means of making amends for the heavy Loss we have sustained by the Destruction of Genl. Arnold's Fleet upon Lake Champlain;[63] but my Experience of the many Evils attending the calling in a considerable Body of raw Militia obliges me to give you my Sentiments upon that Head and to tell you, that I fear they will render you more dis-service than any real Good. From their want of every Camp necessary when they Join a regular Army, they commit an intolerable waste of Stores, which once put into their Hands can scarcely be ever regained, and are so much dead Loss to the public; and for want of Regularity in their drafts of Ammunition, Provision and other Necessaries

[63] Nine small vessels had been built at Skenesborough, mounting 55 guns in all, and Benedict Arnold with a few galleys from Ticonderoga posted this force at the foot of Lake Champlain. Carleton moved against him with 38 vessels, mounting 123 guns, and Arnold fell back to Valcours Island. He was attacked (October 11) and put up a desperate resistance from the forenoon until dark. Under cover of darkness and a fog he managed to slip away from the British, but his shipping, badly battered, was overtaken (October 13) near Split Rock. After a running fight of four hours Arnold beached his remaining vessels and, leaving their flags still flying, set them afire. He escaped with his crews, through the woods, to Ticonderoga. When the British appeared off that fort, Gates succeeded in a display of force and Carleton fell back to Crown Point and shortly returned to Canada to escape the rigorous winter season.

they consume much more than is convenient to spare from a Garrison near a source of Supplies, much less from one at such a Distance, that it requires every Exertion to keep up the Magazines at the best of Times.

I have been informed that Ticonderoga properly Garrisoned and Supplied with provision and Ammunition, is almost impregnable, even at a Season of the Year when an Army can lay before it with the greatest Conveniency, if so, instead of calling up a Number of useless Hands and Mouths (for such I deem Militia in general) I would advise a Collection of as much provision as could possibly be got together, which if sufficient for Nine Thousand effective Men, of which your Army consisted by Genl. Arnolds Letter, I should imagine you could keep Burgoyne and Carleton at Bay, till the Rigour of the Season would oblige them to raise the Seige, not only for want of Conveniencies to lay in Field, but for fear the freezing of the Lake should make their return impracticable, in case of Accident. I would recommend the removal of Carriages and draft Cattle of all kinds from the Country adjacent, that if they should attempt to Slip by Ticonderoga, by any other Rout, and come down upon the Settlements, that plan should be rendered abortive, for want of means of Conveyance for their Baggage and Stores. I am unacquainted with the extent of your works and consequently of the Number of Men necessary to man them. If your present Numbers should be insufficient for that purpose, I would then by all means advise your making up the Deficiency out of the best regulated Militia that could be got. Some might likewise be useful in bringing up Supplies and fill the Places of Men who would render more Service with Arms in their hands. You will always be kind enough to bear in mind, that I am giving my Opinion not issuing my Orders. The Vexation I have experienced from the Humours and intolerable

Caprice of Militia, at a critical time, makes me feel sensibly for the Officer who is to depend upon them in the day of Trial.[64] Upon the whole, I beg you may not be influenced by any thing I have thrown out, you have had Experience of the Temper of the people who will probably march to your Assistance and therefore know whether they differ in Character from those who have reinforced the Army under my Command.

In full Confidence that you will do what seems best to your Judgement, I submit the Matter intirely to you; only esteeming Myself happy if any hints of mine should be Serviceable to you. I am &c.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, October 23, 1776.

Parole Denton. Countersign Chester.

The Guards of the Camp are to be mounted from the several divisions of the Army—their Numbers to be fixed, and their Posts assigned them, by the General Officers of that division—General Spencer's division to furnish the Main Guard, Quarter Master General's and Commissary General's Guard; Bullock Guard and Provost Guard.

It has been observed with some Concern, that scouting parties go out without any advanced, or flanking parties, both which are absolutely necessary for their safety and success, and which they must have on all occasions.

The commanding Officers of Regiments should, on all Marches, draw provisions for the Waggoners, who attend them, and give them all possible assistance—When their baggage is unloaded, they should have the Teams drawn up, set a Guard

[64] The draft of this letter, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, contains at this point the following, which has been crossed out and did not appear in the letter sent: "I am confident whatever you do will be with a View of Serving the Cause in which we have ventured our Lives and Fortunes and if the Event is unfavourable, you will have the Consolation of feeling."

over them, and prevent any loss of the Horses, or abuse of the Drivers, and take care of them 'till they are ordered away.

Any officer, or soldier, who shall presume to meddle with any Horses, belonging to the public, or any other not his own property will be severely punished. And all officers of the army are requested to stop soldiers, who are riding about without Saddles, until they give an Account of themselves; and if they are found breaking Orders, to send the offender to the Guard, and the horse to the Quarter Master General, or to Head-Quarters.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, October 24, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Commanding Officers of regiments are immediately to have Necessaries dug, decently covered, at a small distance from their Encampments—They are every day to be covered over with fresh earth, and once a week to be filled up and new ones dug—All bones, meat and other dirt of the Camp, to be carefully gathered up every day—Those Regiments who have not appointed Camp-Cauleur-Men,[65] are to do it immediately, and it is the duty of the Quarter-Master to see that they do their duty. Two men from every Company to be appointed. If officers would reflect how much cleanliness would conduce to their own health, and that of their men, they would want no inducement to attend to it particularly.

The Brigade Majors of Genl. Spencer's division, are immediately to form a Court Martial—A Colonel to preside.

Genl. Sullivan's division to furnish its proportion of the detail made yesterday, for home guards.

Rolls are to be called three times every day, and the General begs the officers to exert themselves, to keep their men from

[65] Camp-Coulour-Men were the camp police.

straggling away from the Camp—Officers and men would do well to reflect that their safety, their lives, and the liberty of their Country may depend on their being at hand, in case of an Alarm—Any Man who is found half a mile from the Camp, not *on Command,* will be punished very severely.

All the officers who have assisted in the Works to meet at Col Putnam's Quarters, just above Head-Quarters, at 3 O'Clock this afternoon, in order to lay out a number of works. The Engineers are to proportion the entrenching tools at this place, among the several Grand Divisions, and after to day to apply to each General commanding such division, for such numbers of men, as may be wanted for the several works, who are to begin to work at 9 O'clock in the morning, and continue working till four in the afternoon.

Brigade Majors are to have their Returns completed immediately.

General Heath's and General Sullivan's divisions, not having complied with yesterday's Orders, to furnish 30 Men; they are to do it to morrow without fail, and to be more careful in future.[66]

It being absolutely necessary, that the Teams should be collected, in order to be arranged by the Quarter-Master General; The commanding Officers of regiments are immediately to send to the parade, at the Court-house, every team, not under an actual Order to march: No officer to take any Team for any use, without an Order from Head Quarters, or the Quarter Master General—The commanding Officers of brigades and regiments, who at any time may be supplied with Teams, are to take particular Care, that the Drivers of Waggons in their employ are regularly supplied with Grain and Hay for their Horses, if such Provender can be obtain'd in the Neighbourhood of their respective Camps. If the Owners of such Provender refuse

[66] See first paragraph of General Orders, Oct. 23, 1776, *ante.*

to sell, such commanding Officers are to order their Quarter Masters, to collect as much Provender as will be necessary for the public horses, in their service, and give Certificates to the Owners of the Provender, of what the Quarter Masters may receive, or take.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, October 25, 1776.[67]

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The Guards are to be continued as settled the last evening, 'till further Orders, and the Brigade Majors to be very careful that the Guards are properly relieved.

The General most earnestly recommends to all commanding Officers of Brigades, and Regiments, to extend their care to the Waggons which they have, or may employ, and to dismiss them as soon as they have brought their baggage, and have been refreshed.

[67] On this date Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Congress from headquarters of the withdrawal of the army to its new position, leaving 1,400 men at Mount Washington and 600 at Kings Bridge. A surprise of the British was attempted by a detachment under Col. John Haslet, of the Delaware Regiment, which only partially succeeded. Maj. John Green, of the First Virginia Regiment, was badly wounded. A few days later a party of Col. Edward Hand's Pennsylvania rifle regiment routed an equal force of Hessians with the loss of only one man. "Experiment having proved it difficult, if not impossible, to prevent the Enemy from possessing the navigation of the North River and rendering the Communication and Intercourse between the States divided by it, extremely hazardous and precarious by means of their Ships of War, It has become a matter of important consideration how to remedy the evil and to guard against the consequences which may result from it. I am charged by his Excellency to mention it to Congress, as a matter that has employed much of his thought, and that seems worthy of their most serious attention. He has communicated it to several of the General and other Officers, and to many Gentlemen of sense and discernment, who all agree with him, not only upon the propriety, but the absolute necessity, that Two distinct Armies should be formed, the One to act particularly in the States which lay on the East, the other in those that are on the South of the River. The whole, however, to be raised on a General plan, and not to be confined to any particular place by the Terms of Enlistment. These matters, the apparent difficulty and perhaps impracticability of succours being thrown across the River, while the Enemy can command it, have induced his Excellency to submit the measure to their consideration, not knowing how their Operations may be directed, and foreseeing that innumerable evils may arise if a respectable force is not appointed to oppose their Arms whereso-ever they are carried." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, October 26, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Capt. Ebenezer Huntington[68] is to assist the Adjutant General in regulating the duties, and details of Genl Heath's division, 'till further orders.

An Aide-De-Camp from each Major General is to attend at Head Quarters, at twelve o'clock, every day, to receive the General Orders—he is to see that the Brigade Majors execute them in the division.

An Orderly Serjeant from each Brigade, of General Spencers division, to attend at Head-Quarters every day, to bring his provision with him, and not to go away 'till regularly relieved. Upon the due regulation and management of the Waggons, the health and safety of the Army entirely depends, and it will be impossible for the Quarter-Master-General to have any regularity, if officers of the Army undertake to seize Waggons, and compel them to go where they please—The General therefore absolutely forbids any Officer, or Soldier, taking a Waggon by his own authority, and more especially stopping them, when sent on other services, as it is easy to see that the greatest confusion must in that case ensue—When teams are wanted, application must be made to the Quarter-Master-General, or his Deputy, and every Brigade, or Regiment, must wait 'till the service admits their having them in that channel.—The commanding Officers of Regiments are also required to appoint some spirited, resolute officer, to attend the loading of the Waggons, and prevent their being filled with lumber and improper articles: Tents, and the proper Baggage of the Regiment,

[68] Of the Twenty-second Continental Infantry. He rose by successive promotions to lieutenant colonel of Webb's Additional Continental regiment, Third and First Connecticut Regiments.

are only to be put into the Waggons; all others must be left behind; And the General calls upon the General Officers, and commanding Officers of Regiments, to set an example to the soldiers.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White-Plains, October 27, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

Lieut: Sickles[69] of Genl. Scott's Brigade, tried by a Court Martial whereof Col Holman was President, and convicted of "disobeying General Orders, by loading a Waggon with Goods, not the proper baggage of the regiment; and also when charged therewith of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, unbecoming an officer and the Gentleman"—The Court sentenced him to be cashiered—The General approves the sentence, and orders him to be dismissed the service—He also directs that he leave the Army immediately.

The General observing that the Army seems unacquainted with the Enemy's Horse; and that when any parties meet with them, they do not oppose them with the same Alacrity which they shew in other cases; thinks it necessary to inform the officers and soldiers, that, in such a broken Country, full of Stone-Walls, there is no Enemy more to be despised, as they cannot leave the road; So that any party attacking them may be always sure of doing it to advantage, by taking post in the Woods by the Roads, or along the stone-walls, where they will not venture to follow them; And as an encouragement to any brave parties, who will endeavour to surprise some of them, the General offers *100 Dollars,* for every Trooper, with his Horse and Accoutrements, which shall be brought in, and so

[69] Lieut. Ethan Sickles, of Lasher's New York militia.

in proportion for any part, to be divided according to the Rank and pay of the party.

The Picquet Guard to be reinforced this evening with a regiment from each division; they are to parade at 5 O'Clock this evening near Head-Quarters; the eldest Colonel to command the whole, and to come to Head-Quarters for Orders before they march off.

The constant beating of Drums on all occasions is very improper—there should be no Drum but on the parade, and Main Guard—All fatigue parties to march with the Fife, and no Drum to beat, on any account, after Retreat-Beating, but by special order.

John Cawley and Michael McDaniel of Col Hazletts Regiment, tried by the Court Martial whereof Col Holman was President, for "Robbing Isaiah Rider"—are both acquitted—The General approves the Sentence, and orders them to be discharged.

James Daniel of Capt. Horton's[70] Company, Col Ritzema's Regiment, convicted by the same Court Martial, is ordered to receive 39 Lashes—forfeit, two month's pay—The General approves the Sentence, and orders it to be executed at the usual time and place.

William Turner and Daniel Shute are appointed Aids-De-Camp to Genl. Lincoln, and are to be obeyed and respected accordingly.

The Court of Enquiry on Col Tyler; having reported that there is no sufficient reason for the appointment of a Court Martial on his conduct. The General orders him to be released from his arrest.

Regimental Courts Martial to be formed immediately, for the trial of prisoners charged with Crimes under their cognizance.

[70] Capt. Ambrose (?) Horton.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, October 29, 1776.[71]

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

John Eustace Esqr.[72] appointed Aide-De-Camp to General Lee; and Adjt. Bradford[73] of Col. Hitchcock's Regt. is appointed temporary Aide-De-Camp.

The representation made of Col Webb's Regiment yesterday by Genl. McDougall, appearing to be a mistake, and that they kept the post assigned them, notwithstanding a severe Cannonade; The General takes the first opportunity to make it known, to prevent any unfavorable impression.

Until the Guards are otherwise fixed, every division is to mount Guard opposite to their posts, according to the situation of the ground.

Alexander Scammell Esqr.[74] appointed Assistant to the Adjutant General for General Lee's division.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, October 30, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The frequent, indeed constant complaints of the men, for want of provisions upon any Move, which is necessary for them to make, induces the General once more to desire, the commanding Officers of Regts. and Corps, to see that they are never without three day's provisions ready dress'd by them.

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[71] On this date Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Congress a brief account of the engagement at Chatterton's Hill (October 28), which was lost through the panic of the militia. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*. Harrison's letters of October 25 and 29 are printed in the Appendix to volume 4 of Sparks's *Writings of Washington*.

[72] John Skey Eustace. He resigned in 1780.

[73] Adjt. William Bradford, of the Eleventh Continental Infantry, temporary aide to Lee. He became major of Tallman's Rhode Island Militia regiment in December, 1776, and major of Sherburne's Additional Connecticut regiment in January, 1777; retired in January, 1781.

[74] Later Adjutant General of the Continental Army; killed at Yorktown, Va.

All Detachments and Parties are to parade, wherever ordered, with their Packs and Provisions, that they may be ready for any Service they are ordered upon.

It is strictly enjoined upon all officers, to disengage themselves of heavy and cumbrous baggage, as the difficulty of procuring Teams, for transportation of necessary baggage, and stores, which necessarily occasions all heavy Boxes, Chests &c. to be thrown away;—

The General insists upon having the Rolls regularly called, that the officers may account for, and know where the men are, who are always to be ready to turn out upon any Alarm; when Waiters are always to appear under Arms. Upon any Alarm, the Drums are to beat through the whole lines, *To Arms,* as quick as possible, and continue beating 'till the whole line is formed.

The Out-Guard to examine all persons riding into Camp without Arms, and turn any back who are not known, or cannot give sufficient reasons for their coming into camp.

The Brigade Majors immediately to settle a General Court Martial—No Member under the Rank of Captain—A Brigadier to preside.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White-Plains, October 31, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General positively forbids any person going down to the lines, and firing upon the Enemy, without an Order from a General Officer—proper scouting parties are to be kept out by each Major General, for intelligence.

The General, in a ride he took yesterday, to reconnoitre the Grounds about this way, was surprised and shocked to find both officers and soldiers, straggling all over the Country under

one idle pretence or other, when they cannot tell the hour, or minute the Camp may be attacked, and their services indispensably necessary.[75] He once more positively orders, that neither officer or soldier, shall stir out of Camp without leave; the first from the Brigadier, under whom he serves, and the latter from the commanding Officer of the Corps they belong to.

The Provost Marshal is to take up all Stragglers; and it is enjoined upon all officers to seize every man, who fires his gun without leave, and to have him tied up immediately and receive 20 lashes.

The General desires that the commanding Officers of Corps will always report, their killed and wounded, to the Brigadier they belong to, who is to give an account thereof, to the Commander in Chief.

The Court-Martial whereof Genl. Beall was President, having found Capt. Weisner, guilty of "Misbehaviour before the enemy in the attack on Montresor's Island"—and ordered him to be cashiered with infamy,—The General approves the sentence, and orders him to be dismissed the Army.

Ensign Joseph Chapman having resigned his Commission, is appointed Pay-Master to Col Varnum's regiment.

It is with astonishment the General hears, that some officers have taken Horses, between the Enemy's Camp and ours, and sent them into the Country for their private use: Can it be possible, that persons bearing Commissions, and fighting in such a Cause, can degrade themselves into Plunderers of horses?—He hopes every officer will set his face against it, in future; and does insist that the Colonels, and commanding Officers of

[75] On October 31 Harrison again wrote to Congress for Washington that "His Excellency would have wrote himself . . . but his attention is totally engaged in ordering the Affairs of the Army and the best mode for its removal." He also stated: "Our Army is decreasing fast; several Gentlemen who have come to Camp within a few days, have observed large numbers of militia returning Home on the different roads, nor are any measures taken as yet to raise the New Army, no Committees having come from the States to appoint or signifye the nomination of their Officers." This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

Regiments, immediately enquire into the matter, and report to him, who have been guilty of these practices; and that they take an Account of the Horses in their respective Encampments, and send to the Quarter-Master-General, all that are not in some public service.

Wounded men to be sent to Doctor Morgan, at the Houses about a mile from the lines, on the road to North-Castle.

Peter Buise of Col Haslett's regiment, convicted by a General-Court-Martial, whereof Col Hitchcock was President of "Desertion from this Camp, and found near the Enemy's Sentinels" is sentenced to suffer *Death*—

The General approves the sentence, and orders it to be executed to morrow at 11 O'Clock, on the crutch of the road which leads to Youngs and North-Castle.

Commanding Officers of regiments are immediately to have the Arms and Ammunition of their regiments inspected—The Guns that were loaded before the rain to be discharged in Vollies; and they are acquainted that *three* Waggons, loaded with Ammunition, now wait about a mile on the nearest road to North-Castle, in order to serve such as are deficient.

To THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS[76]

[October —, 1776.]

Gentlemen: This will be delivered you by Mr. Gilman[77] who conducted 7 Penobscot Indians into this Camp and expects to meet a larger number on his Return. As he desired my Instructions with Respect to the latter, I have given them founded on the advancement of the Season, and the little Probability of deriving any essential Benefit from them at this Time, when both Armies are most probably retireing into Winter Quarters.

[76] Ford thinks this letter was sent to the Massachusetts Assembly and dates it 1776 from an indorsement. The Massachusetts Council wrote to Washington (Oct. 5, 1776) respecting Gilman and these seven Penobscots as being then on their way to Washington.

[77] Andrew Gilman.

My Directions to him are not to have them advanced farther at present, but to return with them and take such further Orders from You with Respect to their future Destination as you from your knowledge of their Circumstances and Situation shall think best. Whatever Expence has or may accrue on their Account will certainly be brought into the Continental Account, and I make no doubt but such gratuities will be also allowed as you may think proper and necessary. Should there be any other Disposition of them arising from Circumstances not now known I must beg leave to observe to you that this Army is so unprovided with all kinds of Woollens, that I have not the most distant prospect of supplying them with those Necessaries here, and it is so much to be feared, that any Disappointment would make the most unfavorable Impressions on their Minds. Should they therefore proceed to this Camp, I flatter myself they will be furnished with the Articles necessary for the Season before they proceed hither.

If they are to be put into service the next Season in Consequence of any Engagements already entered into, or which may be done, I would suggest the propriety of keeping them collected together in some proper place, rather than suffering them to disperse into their several Towns from which it may be difficult to gather them, when wanted. I am, etc.[78]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 1, 1776.[79]

Parole Belford. Countersign Spain.

Peter Buise under sentence of death, and to be executed this day, is reprieved until Monday 11 o'Clock.

[78] The text is from the *Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blatchley Webb*, edited by W. C. Ford (New York: 1893).

[79] On this date Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Congress: "I am directed by his Excellency to acknowledge his receipt of your favor of the 28th Ulto. . . . and to transmit you a copy of the letter I had the honor of writing you by the Boston

The General Court Martial whereof Genl. McDougall is President, to sit to morrow, at the house above Genl. Lee's Quarters, for the trial of Col. Graham[80]—Col Foreman of Genl Heard's Brigade, and other Witnesses to attend.

The moving state of the Army will occasion some irregularity, but the General hopes that officers of all Ranks, will exert themselves, to correct all abuses, particularly the following;

Straggling from Camp, or plundering parties.

Taking up and keeping horses.

Loading the teams with heavy lumber and unnecessary baggage.

Firing in, and about, the Camp.

To prevent the first—the Rolls are to be frequently called, at least three times a day, and the absent punished—To prevent the second, all Horses not belonging to the Artillery, or Ammunition or Field-Officers, to be collected and sent to the Quarter-Master General, near Head-Quarters—To prevent the third, the Field Officers should have a general examination of the baggage of their regiments; and all heavy Chests, Tables, Chairs, and other lumber be left, or after this, they will be thrown off the Waggons wherever met with: To prevent firing in Camp, the Order of yesterday to be executed, by giving the

Express by his command. Had the Express been charged with no other Letter, the loss would not have been attended with any material injury to us, or advantage to the Enemy, provided it should come to their Hands, but there were others from his Excellency of a very interesting nature, the miscarriage of which gives him much concern. As the bundle was taken away in so sudden and secret a manner, I fear there is but little hope of recovering it, being done most probably for the express purpose of furnishing the Enemy with Intelligence and a State of our Army. Besides his Excellency's Letters, the most material of which was to Mr. Rutlidge, there were five or six more from the Gentlemen of his family." Timothy Dodd, the express rider, reported that his mail pouch had been stolen from him at Bristol, Pa. A committee of Congress investigated the matter but could not clear it up. Dodd's statement not being so clear or satisfactory as fully to exculpate himself, he was placed under arrest, but after a month's confinement released. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, Oct. 29 and 31 and Dec. 12, 1776.) The deputy postmaster at Bristol, one Bessonet, and his barkeeper were arrested and search made for one Wilkins, who was at the tavern when the packet was lost. Nothing, however, was proved against the prisoners.

[80] Col. Morris Graham, of the New York Militia.

offender 10 lashes on the spot, let him belong to what regiment he may.

A Relief having come for the Light-Horse under Major Backers,[81] that Corps is now dismissed with the General's hearty thanks for their faithful services, and the cheerfulness and alacrity they have shewn upon all occasions.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 2, 1776.

Parole Westchester. Countersign Sussex.

The General expressly forbids any person, or soldier, belonging to the Army, to set fire to any House, or Barn, on any pretence, without a special order from some General Officer.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 3, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General is sorry to find, that there are some Soldiers, so lost to all Sense of Honor, and Honesty, as to leave the Army, when there is the greatest necessity for their services: He calls upon the Officers of every Rank, to exert themselves, in putting a stop to it, and absolutely forbids any officer, under the Rank of a Brigadier General, discharging any officer, or soldier, or giving any permission to leave the Camp on any pretence whatever.

The sick of the Militia may be discharged by their General Officer, after he has seen them, and is satisfied of their incapacity to do duty, but not otherwise.

The situation of the Army, and the Season, requiring that the Soldiery should be as well accommodated as possible, especially at night; the taking of Straw, or even Grain in the

[81] Maj. Ebenezer Backus, of the Connecticut Light Horse.

sheaf, is not to be considered as included in the Orders against plundering.

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, November 3, 1776.

Dear Sir: I am favd. with yours of the 29th. last Month. Altho' by the Resolutions of Congress you are appointed to the Director Generalship of the Flying Camp in New Jersey, and Doctor Morgan to that of the Continental Army which has lain on this side the North River, yet I never imagined it meant to exclude either of you from the power of establishing Hospitals on which ever side of the River you thought most convenient for your respective Sick. Under the Circumstances in which we left New York we found it impossible to remove our Sick up the Country on this side the River, Docr. Morgan was therefore directed to provide and prepare Hospitals for them in Jersey, to be under the Controul of him and his Assistants.

He informs me he has left Docr. Foster[82] with proper Assistants to care of those Sick who were removed from this Army, and it is my desire that they may remain under his Direction, he will undoubtedly take proper Measure to provide comfortably for them. As fast as they recover they are to be sent over to this Army again, and tho they may have put you to some Inconvenience for a time, yet consider, the Necessity of the times must plead the Excuse. We have now established Hospitals in this Neighbourhood, and therefore shall have occasion to send no more to Jersey. As fast as Docr. Fosters Sick are removed the Houses will be left for your Use and Convenience. I am, etc.[83]

[82] Dr. Isaac Foster, hospital surgeon.

[83] The original of this, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 4, 1776.[84]

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General desires, in express and positive terms, that the Brigadiers, and Colonels commanding brigades, see every regiment, respectively belonging to them, paraded to morrow (but not at the same instant)—the rolls called over, and every officer and soldier satisfactorily accounted for, or sent after; their Arms also to be examined, and a report thereof to be made—Where the Brigadiers are absent, or incapable of acting, the Major-General is to attend to the execution of this order.

Peter Buise, under sentence of death for desertion, is further reprieved 'till Wednesday.

All Deserters and Prisoners to be reported to the Brigadier of the troops to whom they come, or by whom they are taken, who is to send them to Head-Quarters, as soon as possible.

The Colonels and commanding Officers of Regiments will remember, that they stand accountable for the Arms received by their respective regiments—that all their spare Arms are to be carefully collected, and sent to the Commissary of Stores, or reported immediately to Head-Quarters.

Col Bailey's Regiment, now in Genl. Nixon's Brigade, to join the Brigade of which Col. Glover is Commandant, and Col Reed's, now in Col Glovers to join Genl. Nixon.

[84] The Board of War continued its important clerical functioning during this period and (October 24) wrote to Washington proposing a plan for systematizing ration returns and pay of discharged soldiers. The harassed Commander in Chief asked Robert Hanson Harrison to answer the Board's letter, which he did (November 4), to the effect that his Excellency "esteems the plan you propose to lay before Congress for preventing more Rations being drawn, than may be due, well calculated to answer the end. That respecting the sick, seems to him, not entirely perfect. The Captains or Commanders of Companies are prohibited from drawing pay for such Sick as may be discharged from the Hospitals as unfit for service. If during their stay, and before it can be known whether their case will or will not admit of their return, It should become necessary to make up a Regimental pay Abstract, in what manner are the Officers to make up their Rolls? are they to include the Sick or not? As this is a case

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, November 5, 1776.

Parole Maroneck. Countersign Goshen.

Some Barracks having been already built at Peekskill, and others erecting for the reception of the troops at that place, the General directs, that the Major Generals do select from their several divisions, all their Convalescents and others not entirely *Fit for duty,* and have them sent up there under proper officers. Those men who have been sent into the Country to recruit, are to be included, if they are not well enough to return to their duty in Camp. This Order is not to extend to such sick as are fit subjects for the Hospital, nor is it intended to countermand the orders of the 3rd. Instant, for discharging such of the sick Militia, as chuse to go home after the inspection of the General Officer commanding them: The Arms and Baggage of such men, as move to Peek's-kill, to be taken along, as they are intended for the security of that post. Spare Arms properly put up may also be removed there.

The General is very sensible that the time of service, of many of the Militia, will soon expire, but as this is the most interesting and critical part of the Campaign, and their departure would greatly discourage the other troops, and injure the service; He doubts not their Love to their Country, will induce

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that may and must of necessity frequently happen, It appears to his Excellency, that the intended regulation should be more general, and restrain the Officers from including in their pay Abstracts or Rolls all the Sick they send to the Hospitals, and the pay due 'em previous to their going. In such case those who are discharged as unfit for service, may receive their pay as intended, and those who return to duty can obtain what was due them, when the Regiment was paid, by applying to the Paymaster with the Officers' and Surgeon's Certificates, or be included in a subsequent Abstract. The Inconveniences and abuses which are designed to be remedied by those regulations, his Excellency does not apprehend to arise so much from necessity as Incident to the nature of Armies, as from the imperfect institution of the present, and the great mixture and diversity of Troops composing It, and also from the inattention of the Officers, in whose appointments but too little regard has been had in choosing men of merit and honor. . . . " Harrison's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

them to prolong their stay, until the Close of the Campaign, which must soon happen.

The several Brigadiers, and Colonels commanding Brigades, are immediately to make report of the Tools in their respective Brigades, to the Quarter-Master-General.

The General gives it strictly in charge, to the commanding officer of every regiment, to see that the bottom of the Tents are not covered with earth; and that upon the removal of the Army, at any time, and upon all occasions, Tents are the first things that are put into the Waggons allowed each regiment—The Brigadiers must pay attention to this also.

The order of yesterday with respect to Col Bailey joining Col Glover's Brigade was founded on a mistake; that Regiment is to continue as at present. Col Webb's is to join Colonel Glover's brigade, and Col. Reed is to join Genl McDougall's brigade.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

Dear Brother: I have had the pleasure to receive your Letter of the 6th. Ulto. We have, I think, by one Manouvre and another, and with a parcel of ——— but it is best to say nothing more about them. Mixed, and ungovernable Troops, spun the Campaign out to this time without coming to any decisive Action, or without letting Genl. How obtain any advantage which, in my opinion, can contribute much to the completion of the business he is come upon, or to the Honour and glory of the British Arms, and those of their Auxilaries. Our numbers from the Beginning have been disjointed and confused, and much less than were apprehended; had we ever hazarded a general action with them therefore, unless it had been in

our Works at New York, or Harlem heights, we undoubtedly should have risked a good cause upon a very unfavourable Issue.

Whilst we lay at the upper end of York Island (or the heights of Harlem) How suddenly Landed from the best accts. we cd. get, about 16,000 Men above us, on a place called Frogs point on the East River, or Sound, this obliged Us, as his design was evidently to surround us, and cut of our Communication with the Country, thereby stopping all Supplies of Provisions (of which we were very scant) to remove our Camp and out Flank him, which we have done, and by degrees got strongly posted on advantageous Grounds at this place.

It is not in my power to furnish you with so extensive a Draft as you require, as I have none but printed Maps of the Country you want to see deleniated, and have no person about me that has time enough to Copy one, but a rough sketch of the Country in wch. we have been Manourvreing, and which I had taken off to carry in my pocket, I inclose you as it will afford some Idea of the parts adjacent to New York.

Novr. 19, at Hackensac.

I began this Letter at the White plains as you will see by the first part of it; but by the time I had got thus far the Enemy advanced a Second time (for they had done it once before, and after engaging some Troops which I had posted on a Hill,[85] and driving them from it with the loss of abt. 300 killed and Wounded to them, and little more than half the number to us) as if they meant a genel. Attack, but finding us ready to receive them, and upon such ground as they could not approach without loss, they filed of and retreated towards New York.

As it was conceived that this Manœuvre was done with a design to attack Fort Washington (near Harlem heights) or to throw a body of Troops into the Jerseys, or what might be still

[85] Chattertons Hill, N. Y.

worse, aim a stroke at Philadelphia, I hastend over on this side with abt. 5000 Men by a round about March (wch. we were obliged to take on Acct. of the Shipping opposing the passage at all the lower Ferries) of near 65 Miles, but did not get hear time enough to take Measures to save Fort Washington tho I got here myself a day or two before it surrendered, which happened on the 16th. Instt. after making a defence of about 4 or 5 hours only.

We have no particular Acct. of the loss on either side, or of the Circumstances attending this matter, the whole Garrison after being drove from the out lines, and retiring within the Fort surrendered themselves Prisoners of War, and giving me no Acct. of the terms. By a letter, which I have just receivd from Genl. Greene at Fort Lee, (wch. is opposite to Fort Washington) I am informd that "one of the Train of Artillery came across the River last Night on a Raft, by his Acct. the Enemy have suffered greatly on the North side of Fort Washington. Colo. Rawlings's Regiment (late Hugh Stephenson's) was posted there, and behaved with great Spirit. Colo. Magaw could not get the Men to Man the Lines, otherwise he would not have given up the Fort."

This is a most unfortunate affair, and has given me great Mortification as we have lost not only two thousand Men that were there, but a good deal of Artillery, and some of the best Arms we had. And what adds to my Mortification is, that this Post, after the last Ships went past it, was held contrary to my Wishes and opinion; as I conceived it to be a dangerous one: but being determind on by a full Council of General Officers, and recieving a resolution of Congress strongly expressive of their desires, that the Channel of the River (which we had been labouring to stop for a long time at this place) might be obstructed, if possible; and knowing that this could not be done unless there were Batteries to protect the obstruction I did

not care to give an absolute order for withdrawing the Garrison till I could get round and see the Situation of things and then it became too late as the Fort was Invested. I had given it, upon the passing of the last Ships, as my opinion to Genl. Greene, under whose care it was, that it would be best to evacuate the place; but, as the order was discretionary, and his opinion differed from mine, it unhappily was delayed too long, to my great grief, as I think Genl. Howe, considering his Army and ours, would have had but a poor tale to have told without it and would have found it difficult, unless some Southern Expedition may prove successful, to have reconciled the People of England to the Conquest of a few pitiful Islands, none of wch. were defensible, considering the great number of their Ships and the power they have by Sea to surround and render them unapproachable.

Your Letter of the 30th. of Octr. was delivered to me a few days ago by Colo. Woodford. It is a matter of great grief and surprize to me, to find the different States so slow, and inattentive to that essential business of levying their quota's of Men. In ten days from this date, there will not be above 2000 Men, if that, on this Side of Hudson's River (of the fixed and establish'd Regiments) to oppose Howe's whole Army, and very little more on the other to secure the Eastern Colonies and the Important Passes leading through the Highlands to Albany and the Country about the Lakes.[86] In short it is impossible

[86] On November 23 Congress named James Wilson, James Smith, Samuel Chase, George Clymer, and Richard Stockton a committee "with full powers to devise and execute measures for effectually reinforcing General Washington, and obstructing the progress of General Howe's army." The Board of War was directed to order the battalion on the eastern shore of Virginia to march to Philadelphia and two Pennsylvania battalions commanded by Colonels Cooke and Mackay to join Washington. The General was directed to order "under his immediate command such of the forces now in the northern department as have been raised in the states of Pensylvania and New Jersey." The committee report is printed in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* (L. C. edition), under date of November 23, and is concerned with Pennsylvania troops only. An unconscious commentary on the practice of the Board of War lies in the direction of Congress that it is "ordered to attend immediately to this business."

for me in the compass of a Letter, to give you any Idea of our Situation, of my difficulties, and the constant perplexities and mortifications I constantly meet with, derived from the unhappy policy of short enlistments, and delaying them too long. Last fall or Winter, before the Army which was then to be raised, was set about, I represented in clear and explicit terms the evils wch. would arise from short Inlistments, the expence that must attend the raising an Army every year, the futility of such an Army when raised; and, in a word, if I had spok with a prophetick Spirit, could not have foretold the evils with more accuracy than I did; all the year since I have been pressing them to delay no time in engaging Men upon such terms as would Insure success, telling them that the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would grow; but the measure was not set about till it was too late to be effected, and then in such a manner as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an Army, from which any Services are to be expected;[87] the different States without regard to the merits or qualifications of an Officer, quarelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be Shoe Blacks from the local attachments of this or that Member of Assembly.

I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde Motions of things, and I solemnly protest that a pecuniary reward of 20,000£ a year would not induce me to undergo what I do; and after all, perhaps, to loose my Character as it is impossible under such a variety of distressing Circumstances to conduct matters agreeably to public expectation, or even of those who employ me, as they will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned.

[87] Ford quotes Edward Rutledge to John Jay (November 24): "You know that body [Congress] possesses its share of human weakness; and that it is not impossible for the members of that House to have their attention engrossed by subjects which might as well be postponed for the present, while such as require despatch have been—I had almost said—neglected."

I am glad to find by your last Letter that your family are tolerably well recoverd from the Indisposition they labourd under. God grant you all health and happiness; nothing in this world would contribute so much to mine as to be once more fixed among you in the peaceable enjoyment of my own Vine, and fig Tree. Adieu my dear Sir; remember me Affectionately to my Sister and the Family, and give my Compliments to those who enquire after Yr. Sincerely Affectionate Brother.

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

Gentn: The Situation of our affairs is critical and truly alarming; the dissolution of our Army is fast approaching and but little, if any, prospect of levying a New One, in a reasonable time; A large part of it, under the denomination of new Levies, are now on the eve of their departure, and this at a time when the Enemy have a very numerous and formadable force, watching an opportunity to execute their plans and to spread ruin and devastation among us. Impressed with the importance of these Matters, I this day laid them before a Council of Genl. Officers, with a view of Obtaining their opinion upon the same; and of the Measures, which in their judgment, should be immediately adopted; The result was, that I should apply to several of the States for supplies of Militia, and that your Honble. Assembly, should be requested to furnish, as soon as possible, 4,000. as their Quota, to be properly accoutred and equipped with every necessary, to supply the place of those, who are now here under General Lincoln, and who, I fear, will not be prevail'd upon to stay longer than the time they engaged for, at first. The hope and probability of raising a New Army, within a convenient time, are so little, and the consequences so evidently

alarming, if a Sufficient force is not kept up to counteract the designs of the Enemy in the mean time; that the Council and myself have unanimously agreed, that the Militia should be engaged, if possible, to continue till the first of March, unless their Return can be sooner dispensed with. We flatter ourselves by that time, if not long before, such an Army will be levyed, as to render any future claims upon them, unless in cases of the most pressing emergency, altogether unnecessary.

From the experience, I have had, of your past exertions in times of difficulty, I know that nothing, in your power to effect, will be wanting, and with the greatest confidence I trust, that the present requisition will have your most ready approbation and Compliance; being in some degree anticipated by the inquiry you have directed to be made into the state of our affairs, and whether any farther aid will be necessary. I have the Honor etc.[88]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that on yesterday Morning, the Enemy made a Sudden and unexpected movement from the Several Posts they had taken in our front, they broke up their whole Encampments the preceeding night, and have advanced towards Kingsbridge and the North River. The design of this Manœuvre is a Matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be accounted for, with any degree of certainty. The grounds we had taken possession of, were strong and advantageous, and such as they could not have gained, without much loss of Blood, in case an attempt had been made; I had taken every possible precaution to prevent their outflanking us, which may have led to the present measure. They

[88] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson.

Sir,

The president being necessarily engaged with his family, I have the honour to inform you that your letter of the 1st. was duly received & laid before Congress, and to transmit you a resolution of Congress passed this day.

I am Sir
Your obedient humble servant
Chas Thomson

In Congress Decr. 11. 1776

Whereas a false and malicious report hath been spread by the enemies of America that the Congress was about to disperse

Resolved That general Washington be desired to contradict the said scandalous report in general orders, this Congress having a better opinion of the spirit and vigour of the army & the good people of these states than to suppose it can be necessary to disperse. Nor will they adjourn from the city of Philadelphia in the present state of affairs unless the last necessity shall direct it.

Extract from the minutes
Chas Thomson secy.

Resolve of Congress of December 11, 1776, Which Washington Suppressed

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may still have in View their original plan, and by a sudden wheel, try to accomplish it. Detachments are constantly out to observe their motions, and to harrass them as much as possible.

In consequence of this movement, I called a Council of General Officers to day, to consult of such measures as should be adopted, in case they pursued their retreat to New York. The result of which is herewith transmitted.[89] In respect to myself, I cannot indulge an Idea, that Genl. Howe, supposing he is going to New York, means to close the Campaign and to sit down without attempting something more. I think it highly probable and almost certain that he will make a descent with part of his troops into Jersey, and as soon as I am satisfied that the present Maneuvre is real and not a feint, I shall use every means in my power, to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs. Nor shall I be disappointed, if he sends a detachment to the Southward, for the purpose of making a Winter's Campaign. from the information I have received, there is now a number of Transports at Red Hook, with about three thousand Troops on Board; their destination as given out, is to Rhode Island, but this seems altogether Improbable, for various reasons; among others, the season is much against it, in the Southern States they will find it milder and much more favorable for their purposes. I shall take the liberty of mentioning, that it may not be improper to suggest the probability of such a measure to the Assemblies and Conventions in those States; that they may be on their guard, and of the propriety of their Establishing and laying up Magazines of Provisions and other

[89] The original proceedings of this council (November 6), at White Plains, N. Y., in Joseph Reed's writing, is in the *Washington Papers;* the copy forwarded to Congress is in that of Tench Tilghman. Washington propounded three queries, to which the council agreed unanimously as to the first—that in case the enemy were retreating toward New York City it would be proper immediately to throw a body of troops into New Jersey; that those raised on the west side of Hudson's River should be detached for this purpose and those raised on the east side should continue there; and that 3,000 men should be stationed at Peekskill and the passes of the Highlands.

necessaries in Suitable places. This is a matter of exceeding importance, and what cannot be too much attended to.

From the approaching dissolution of the Army, and the departure of the new Levies, which is on the Eve of taking place, and the little prospect of levying a new one in time; I have wrote to the eastern States, by the unanimous advice of the General Officers, to forward Supplies of Militia in the room of those that are now here, and who is feared, will not be prevailed on, to stay any longer than the time they are engaged for. The propriety of this application, I trust will appear, when it is known, that not a single Officer is yet Commissioned to recruit, and when it is considered, how essential it is to keep up some shew of force and shadow of an Army.

I expect the Enemy will bend their force against Fort Washington and invest it immediately, from some advices, it is an object that will attract their earliest Attention.

I am happy to inform you that in the Engagement on Monday sennight, I have reason to believe, our loss was by no means so considerable as was conjectured at first. By some deserters and Prisoners we are told, that of the Enemy was tolerably great, some accounts make it about Four hundred in killed and Wounded;—all agree, that among the former there was a Colo. Carr of the 35th. Regiment.

The force that will be sent to Jersey, after I am satisfied of Mr. Howe's retreat, in addition to those now there, according to my present Opinion, will make it necessary for me to go with them, to put things in a proper Channel, and such a way of defence, as shall seem most probable to check the progress of the Enemy, in case they should attempt a descent there or a move towards Philadelphia. I have the honor to be &c.[90]

[90] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft is in that of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

To THE COMMISSIONERS OF ARRANGEMENT FROM PENNSYLVANIA

White Plains, November 6, 1776.

Gentn.: Your favor of the 23d Instt., expressing your astonishment, that recruiting orders had not been issued to Colo. Magaw and Col. Cadwalladar, has been duly received. As it seems founded on Assurances given by me, I think it my Duty to explain the Matter and call to your recollection some circumstances, which perhaps in the hurry of Business, you may have forgot. At the time you left Kingsbridge no one Officer that I recollect was fixed on nor was it known whether Col Cadwalleder would accept the Regiment if in his Power. There was not Money in the Continental Treasury at that time, to advance for the Bounty of even Hand's Regiment and all those who were consulted, agreed that it answered no Purpose to attempt the Business, without the Money in Hand. Another thing Gentlemen, you will I doubt not, agree with me in that it could not be the Generals Duty or that of any other General Officer to attend upon the Officers of those two Battalions, to know whether they would serve, or set about the Business, of recruiting and I am very confident that no application was made for Money or recruiting Orders: nor indeed could they, for the Enemy landed immediately after at Frog's Point. The Army immediately moved and has been moving ever since, so that there has not been leisure or Opportunity for transacting Business of this kind. our Communication with Mount Washington has now been cut off for 2 Weeks and in short the Variety of Avocations to the immediate Safety and Interest of the Army under constant alarms and the approach of the Enemy has made that very natural to those on the spot which may appear very much otherwise to

Gentlemen, whose short stay at such Times in the Camp, does not enable them to judge of the Difficulties which occur upon such occasions.

The Necessity of appointing the officers who were to execute the recruiting Orders will appear, when it is recollected, that at that time it was understood, that 10/ was to be allowed for every Man recruited; so that the appointment must of course precede the Service. This the Congress have since altered. I have the Honor etc.[91]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 6, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

As the late movements of the enemy will require some change of our present disposition, the General most earnestly requests, that the men who have been at the Hospital, and out of Camp on any other account, may be immediately collected and join their respective regiments.

It is with the utmost astonishment and abhorrence, the General is informed, that some base and cowardly Wretches have, last night, set fire to the Court-House, and other Buildings which the enemy left: The Army may rely on it, that they shall be brought to justice, and meet with the punishment they deserve.[92]

Mr. John Story is appointed Pay-Master to the Regiment commanded by Col. Hitchcock.

[91] The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed.

[92] The courthouse at White Plains. A few barns and houses within the Continental lines, in which stores had been lodged, were burned by Washington's order when the army retreated from White Plains (October 31). Sparks states that these two different occasions have been confounded and the burning of the courthouse and some of the village houses ascribed erroneously to Washington's orders.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 7, 1776.

Parole Dedham. Countersign Newbury.

The Colonels, or commanding officers of regiments are immediately to parade their men, examine the state of their Regts. and make out their Pay-Abstracts in a careful, correct manner for the month of September.

Genl. Wadsworth's Brigade to be in readiness to remove in a short notice, to the ground on which Lord Stirling is posted.

Col Silliman to take charge of the Brigade during Genl. Wadsworth's illness.

The General Officers, Colonels, and commanding Officers of regiments, are again called upon to examine the Baggage of the troops, under marching orders; to take care that the Tents and spare Arms of the regiment are first put into the Waggons, and then the proper Baggage of the regiment—No chairs, tables, heavy chests or lumber of any kind, to be put in, as it will certainly be thrown off, and left.

No officer of any Rank is to meddle with a Waggon, or Cart, appropriated for any other regiment, or public use; as they wish to avoid confusion, and injuring the service.

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

White Plains, November 7, 1776.

Dear Sir: The Enemy after having encamped in full view of us and reconnoitring our Situation for several days, thought proper on Tuesday morning to decamp; they have bent their course to Dobbs Ferry inclining towards Kingsbridge. What their real designs are, we, as yet are Strangers to, but conjecturing

that too little is yet done by General Howe to go into Winter Quarters, we conceive that Fort Washington will be an Object for part of his Force, whilst New Jersey may claim the attention of the other part.

To Guard against the evils arising from the first, I must recommend to you to pay every attention in your power and give every assistance you can to the Garrison opposite to you. To Guard against the latter, it has been determined (but this as much as possible under the rose) in a Council of War, to throw over a Body of Troops, so soon as we can with more precision ascertain the destination of the Enemy into the Jerseys. To facilitate this move, the Quarter Master General has sent over for Teams to meet the Troops at the Ferry above, and I should be glad to know your Sentiments of the place they should be marched to, as best for covering the inhabitants and impeding their progress towards Philadelphia, if such a Scheme is in contemplation. Would not Brunswick be the most likely place to answer this end? Or is it too far from New York? They can have no capital Object in view, unless it is Philadelphia; making excursions only into the Jerseys unless it is for Forage, is playing no more than a small game, but such a one as may be necessary for them and distressing to the Farmers, for which reason the inhabitants should always be prepared to drive off their Waggons, Teams, and stock that neither of them may fall into the hands of the Enemy. Impress this speedily and forcibly upon them. They may rely upon it, that the Enemy will leave nothing they find among them, nor do they discriminate between Whig and Tory, woeful experience has convinced the latter, in the movements of the Enemy in this State, of this Truth.

If you have not already sent my Boxes with Camp Tables and Chairs, be so good as to let them remain with you, as I do not

know but I shall move with the Troops designed for the Jerseys, persuaded as I am of their having turned their Views that Way. I am of Opinion, that if your Magazines at Princetown were increased and those in the vicinity of New York lessened, it would be better. We find great risque and inconvenience arising from having Stores near Navigation, perhaps a Magazine at Brunswick might not be amiss. The Barracks there should be got in Order. I am etc.[93]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

White Plains, November 7, 1776.[94]

Sir: On Tuesday Morning the Enemy broke up their Encampments which were in front of our lines, after having remained there several days, without attempting any thing; they have gone towards the North River and Kingsbridge.

This Sudden and unexpected Movement, is a Matter of much Speculation, some suppose they are going into Winter Quarters, and will set down in New York, without doing more than investing Fort Washington; I cannot subscribe wholly to this Opinion myself; That they will invest Fort Washington, is a Matter of which there can be no doubt; and I think, there is a strong probability, that Genl. Howe will detach a part of his Force to make an Incursion into the Jerseys, provided he is going to New York. He must attempt something on Acct. of his Reputation, for what has he done as yet, with his great Army?

Persuaded that an Expedition to the Jerseys, will succeed his arrival in New York, with a Detachment of his Army; as soon as I can be satisfied, that the present Manœuvre is a real Retreat,

[93] The draft is in the writing of John Walker.

[94] On November 7 Robert Hanson Harrison wrote to Governor Trumbull, by direction of Washington, requesting a reenforcement of militia. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed in Force's *American Archives.*

and not a feint; I shall throw over a body of our Troops, with the utmost expedition, to assist in checking their progress. At the same time I beg leave to recommend to your Consideration, the propriety and Necessity that some Measures should be taken, to place your Militia, on the best footing Possible, and that a part of them may be in readiness to Supply the place of the Troops (denominated New Levies) from your State, whose time of Service will presently expire. Your Vigilance and Attention, I know, will not be wanting in any Instance; yet there is one thing more I will take the liberty to mention; that is, that the Inhabitants contiguous to the Water, should be prepared to remove their Stock, Grain, Effects and Carriages upon the earliest Notice. If they are not, the Calamities they will suffer, will be beyond all Description, and the Advantages derived to the Enemy immensely great; They have treated all here without discrimination. The distinction of Whig and Tory has been lost in one General Scene of Ravage and desolation. The Article of Forrage is of great Importance to them; not a Blade should remain for their use, what cannot be removed with Convenience should be consumed without the least Hesitation. These Several Matters I thought it my duty to suggest to you, not doubting, but you will give them such attention, as they may seem to deserve; and that your own good judgment will point out many more necessary regulations adapted to the Exigency of our affairs.

I do not know the State of the Barracks about Elizabeth Town, Amboy, and Brunswick; they may be exceedingly necessary to cover our Troops, I think it will be adviseable to have them examined, and that you should direct such necessary Repairs to be made as they may require. I have the honor etc.[95]

[95] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE BOARD OF WAR[96]

White Plains, November 8, 1776.

Gentlemen: I have been favoured with yours of the 31st ulto. by Monsr. Laytaniac,[97] and must take the liberty of referring you to my former Letters upon the subject of providing for the French Gentlemen who shall incline to enter the service of the States. To me there appears that one of two modes must be adopted: they must either be appointed to places in some of the Regiments, or formed into a distinct Corps. The former was advised as the most eligible in Respect to the Gentlemen who were here before. It requires time to form an accurate opinion of the merits of an officer, and the present situation of the Army, will not allow me to pay a particular attention to Monsr. Laytaniac, or such notice as he may wish to receive, or I to give. Nor is there any way of making his stay here agreeable. I have &c.[98]

To MAJOR GENERAL NATHANAEL GREENE

Head Quarters, November 8, 1776.

Sir: The late passage of the 3 Vessels up the North River (which we have just received advice of) is so plain a Proof of the Inefficacy of all the Obstructions we have thrown into it, that I cannot but think, it will fully Justify a Change in the disposition which has been made. If we cannot prevent Vessels passing up, and the Enemy are possessed of the surrounding Country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a Post from which the expected Benefit cannot be had;

[96] Ford prints this letter as to the President of Congress.

[97] The Board of War's letter (October 31) gives him as Chevalier Lantagniac. The letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[98] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I am therefore inclined to think it will not be prudent to hazard the men and Stores at Mount Washington, but as you are on the Spot, leave it to you to give such Orders as to evacuating Mount Washington as you Judge best and so far revoking the Order given Colo. Magaw to defend it to the last.

The best Accounts obtained from the Enemy, assure us of a considerable Movement among their Boats last Evening, and so far as can be collected from the various Sources of Intelligence, they must design a Penetration into Jersey and fall down upon your Post. You will therefore immediately have all the Stores &c. removed, which you do not deem necessary for your defence, and as the Enemy have drawn great Relief from the Forage and Provisions they have found in the Country, and which our Tenderness spared, you will do well to prevent their receiving any fresh Supplies there, by destroying it, if the Inhabitants will not drive off their Stock and remove the Hay Grain &c. in time. Experience has shewn, that a contrary Conduct is not of the least advantage to the poor Inhabitants, from whom all their Effects of every kind are taken, without distinction and without the least Satisfaction.

Troops are filing off from hence, as fast as our Circumstances and Situation will admit, in order to be transported over the River with all Expedition. I am etc.

P. S. I need not Suggest to you the Necessity of giving Genl. Mercer early Information of all Circumstances, in Order that he may move up to your Relief with what Troops he has.[99]

[99] The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed. The parenthetical phrase is so added by Washington. The letter sent is in the archives of the New York Historical Society and the P. S. contains the additional sentence: "A Letter inclosed to General Stevens is left open for your Perusal." Greene, who was in command at Fort Lee, N. J., analyzes the situation and says (November 8): "Upon the whole I cannot help thinking the Garrison is of advantage, and I cannot conceive the Garrison to be in any great danger. . . . Col. Magaw thinks it will take them [the British] till December expires, before they can carry it." Greene's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, White Plains, November 8, 1776.

Parole Philadelphia. Countersign Portsmouth.

The Court Martial of which Genl. McDougall is President, to sit immediately for the trial of Major Austin[1] in Arrest, upon Charge of "Burning the houses at White-Plains, contrary to General orders."

Col Graham[2] and Capt. Gerrish,[3] tried by a Court-Martial whereof Genl. McDougall was President, for "Misbehaviour upon the approach of the enemy" are acquitted.

Capt. Poole[4] of Col Cary's Regt. and Genl. Fellows's Brigade, tried by the same Court Martial, and convicted of "Shamefully abandoning his post"—ordered to be cashiered.

The General approves each of the above Sentences; orders the former to join their regiments, and the latter to depart the Army immediately.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, November 9, 1776.

Sir: Yesterday Evening I received the favor of your Letter of the 8th. instant. Major Stewart's[5] Servant having never represented himself as a person not inlisted in your Army, he was considered as a Prisoner of War and sent as such to Jersey. But upon your information that he was not in the Capacity of a Soldier, I will give immediate directions for him to be brought back that he may return to his Master.

[1] Maj. Jonathan William Austin, of the Sixteenth Continental Infantry.
[2] Col. Morris Graham, of the New York Militia.
[3] Capt. Jacob Gerrish, of the First Continental Infantry.
[4] Capt. Jacob Poole, of the Sixth Continental Infantry.
[5] Maj. Charles Stuart, of the Forty-third Foot, British Army.

This Servant was charged with a Letter of a private and delicate nature; but Major Stewart may be assured the Contents neither were nor shall be permitted to transpire.

I regret that it has not been in my Power to effect the proposed Exchange of Prisoners before this Time. As soon as the proposition was agreed to, I wrote to the Governors and Conventions of the different States where the Prisoners were, to have them collected and sent to the most convenient places in the neighbourhood of the two Armies; their dispersed situation for their better accomodation has been the reason of the delay; At least I cannot ascribe it to any other cause: It has not arisen Sir, from any design on my part, and I am persuaded, the difficulty of drawing them together must be evident to you, especially, as it was early suggested in some of my former Letters. As to the charge of your Officers being confined in common Gaols, I had hoped, that you were satisfied by my Assurances on this Head before. It is not my wish that Severity should be exercised towards any, whom the fortune of War has thrown, or, shall throw into our hands. On the Contrary, It is my desire that the utmost Humanity should be shewn them. I am convinced the latter has been the prevailing line of Conduct to Prisoners. There have been instances in which some have met with less Indulgence than could have been wished, owing to a refractory conduct and a disregard of Paroles. If there are other Instances, in which a Strict regard to propriety has not been observed, they have not come to my knowledge, and if you will be pleased to point them out and to particularize the Names of the Officers, the earliest inquiry shall be made into the complaint, and the cause removed if any exists.

With Respect to the Stragglers who have lately fallen into our Hands, I cannot, upon the best consideration, discern how the Agreement subsisting between us is affected by sending

them to Places from whence they may be easily collected upon a General exchange. That the Custom of War requires, or that the Interest of an Army, would admit of a daily Exchange of Prisoners are Points on which we are so unhappy as to differ in Sentiment. The Opportunities of conveying Intelligence and many other Consequences flowing from such an Intercourse seem so very obvious, that upon farther reflection, I flatter myself you will think with me on this Subject. But if otherwise it might have been exemplified on your part, in the immediate return of such Straglers from our Army as have fallen into your Hands, which would have justified an Expectation of a similar Conduct from us. I am Sir, with great Respect &ca.[6]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

White Plains, November 9, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit you a Copy of a Letter from Genl Gates to Genl. Schuyler,[7] and of another paper containing Intelligence respecting the Northern Army, and the situation of the Enemy in that department. They this minute came to hand, and to them I beg leave to refer you for particulars.

By every information I can obtain, and the accounts I had last night, by two deserters who were very intelligent and particular, Genl. Howe still has in view an expedition to the Jersey's and is preparing for it with the greatest industry. I have detached the first division of our Troops, which was thought necessary to be sent, and which I hope will cross the River at

[6] The draft of this letter is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The last paragraph, however, was, by Washington's direction, rewritten by Joseph Reed and so incorporated in the letter as sent. There was no change of thought, but a better and smoother expression of the same idea, though Reed's draft shows the difficulty he encountered in smoothing out the text.

[7] Gates's letter, dated Oct. 24, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*. The other paper, a copy of which is filed with Washington's letter, in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, informed of Sir John Johnson's movement down the Mohawk Valley to join Burgoyne at Albany.

Peekskill to day. The Second I expect will all march this Evening, and to morrow Morning I propose to follow myself, in order to put things in the best train I can and to give him every possible opposition. I hope when the two divisions arrive and are joined to such other force, as I expect to collect, to check his progress and prevent him from penetrating any distance from the River if not to oblige him to return immediately with some loss. Whatever is in my power to effect, shall be done. I have the honor to be &c.[8]

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 9, 1776.

Parole ———. Countersign ———.

The General desires, that all Colonels and commanding Officers of regiments, will be particularly attentive, that no discharged men, or men whose times have, or are about to expire, be suffered to carry off any Arms, Camp-Kettles, Utensils, or any other kind of store, which belong to the public; but that the whole be carefully delivered to the Quarter-Master-General (or his Assistants) or to the Commissary of Stores, as the case may be; taking Receipts therefor, in discharge of those they have passed for the delivery, in behalf of the Corps they respectively belong to.

GENERAL ORDERS

Head-Quarters, White-Plains, November 10, 1776.

Parole North-Castle. Countersign Bedford.

Such Officers as have been commissioned by the different States for the New-Army, are immediately to set about

[8] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison; the draft, also in Harrison's writing, varies in minor verbal details from the above.

recruiting from the Troops of such State only, upon the following terms.

Twenty Dollars Bounty.

A Suit of Cloaths.

One hundred Acres of land.

The same pay and Rations, as are now given—The service to continue during the present Contest with Great-Britain.

Such ample encouragement, it is not doubted, will induce every true Lover of his Country, to engage in its defence; to preserve it from the Horrors of Slavery, and the desolation of a cruel and barbarous enemy—No Boys (under the idea of Waiters, or otherwise) or old Men, to be inlisted—if they are, they will be returned on the hands of the officer, without any allowance for any expence he may be at.[9]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Head Quarters, Near the White Plains,
November 10, 1776.

Sir: The late Movement of the Enemy,[10] and the probability of their having designs upon the Jerseys (confirmed by sundry Accounts from deserters and prisoners,) rendering it necessary to throw a body of Troops over the North River, I shall immediately follow, and the command of the Army which remains after General Heath's division marches to Peekskill devolving upon you. I have to request;

[9] The following note, preceded by the hand pointer, is entered at this point in the Varick Transcripts of the General Orders: "☞ The Original Orders from Novr. 10th to Jany 12th 1777 inclusive, are missing." The General Orders were copied from the originals in 1781 and the transcript certified by Alexander Scammell, then Adjutant General of the Continental Army.

[10] Three British ships had forced their passage up the river on the 9th, though suffering considerable damage in masts and rigging from the American artillery. This interfered with the line of supplies to Washington's army by way of the Hudson River and also blocked work on obstructing the channel.

That you will be particularly attentive that all the intrenching and other Tools, (excepting those in immediate use) be got together, and delivered to the Quarter Master General, or Major Reed, who heretofore has been intrusted with them.

That you will direct the commanding Officer of Artillery, to exert himself, in having the Army well Supplied, with Musket Cartridges; for this purpose, a convenient place, at a distance, should be fixed on, that the business may go on uninterrupted.

That no Troops, who have been furnished with Arms, Accoutrements, or Camp utensils, be suffered to depart the Camp, before they have delivered them, either to the Commissary of Stores, or the Quarter Master General, (or his Assistant), as the case may be, taking receipts therefore, in exoneration of those which they have passed. In a particular manner, let the tents be taken care of, and committed to the Quarter Master General's care.

A Little time now must manifest the Enemy's designs, and point out to you, measures proper to be pursued by that part of the Army under your command, I shall give no direction therefore on this Head, having the most entire confidence in your Judgment, and Military exertions; one thing however, I will suggest, namely, that as the appearance of embarking Troops for the Jerseys, may be intended as a feint to weaken us, and render the strong post, we now hold, more vulnerable; or if they find that Troops are assembled, with more expedition, and in greater numbers, than they expected, on the Jersey shore, to oppose them; I say, as it is possible from one or the other of these motives, they may yet pay the Army under your command, a visit; It will be unnecessary I am persuaded, to recommend to you, the propriety of putting this post, if you stay at it, into a proper posture of defence, and guarding against, surprises; But I would recommend it to your consideration

whether under the suggestion above, your retiring to Croton bridge, and some strong post still more Easterly (covering the other passes through the highlands) may not be more adviseable, than to run the hazard, of an attack with unequal numbers; at any rate, I think all your Baggage, and Stores, except such as are necessary for immediate use, ought to be to the Northward of Croton River.

In case of your removal from hence, I submit to the consideration of Yourself and the General Officers with you, the propriety of destroying the Hay, to prevent the Enemy from reaping the benefit of it.

You will consider the post at Croton's or Pine's bridge, as under your immediate care, as also that lately occupied by Genl. Parsons, and the other at Wrights Mill; the first, I am taught to believe, is of consequence, the other two can be of little use, while the Enemy hover about the North River, and upon our right flank.

General Wooster from the State of Connecticut, and by Order of the Governor with Several Regiments of Militia, are now I presume, in or about Stamford; they were to receive orders from me, of course they are to do it from you; There are also some other Regiments of Connecticut Militia, who came out with General Saltonstall, and annexed to Genl. Parson's Brigade, and others which you must dispose of as occasion and Circumstances shall require; but as by the late returns, many of those Regiments are reduced to little more than a large Company, I recommend the discharge of all such Supernumerary Officers, and the others annexed to some Brigade.

As the Season will soon oblige the Enemy, to betake themselves to Winter Quarters, and will not permit our Troops to remain much longer in tents, it may be well to consider in time, where Magazines of Provisions and Forage, should be laid in

for the Army on the East side Hudson's River. Peeks kill or the Neighbourhood, would I should think be a very advantageous post for as many as can be supported there; Croton bridge may possibly be another good deposit, or some where more Easterly for the rest, as the Commissary, Quarter Master, &c, may assist in pointing out.

It may not be amiss to remind you, for it must (as it ought) to have some influence on your deliberations and measures, that the Massachusets Militia, stand released from their Contract the 17th. this instant, and that the Connecticut Militia are not engaged for any fixed period, and by what I can learn, begin to grow very impatient to return, few indeed of whom being left.

If the Enemy should remove the whole, or the greatest part of their force, to the West side of Hudson's River, I have no doubt of your following, with all possible dispatch, leaving the Militia and Invalids to cover the Frontiers of Connecticut &c. in case of need.[11]

To COLONEL HENRY KNOX

Head Quarters, White Plains, November 10, 1776.

Sir: As it is more than probable (unless Genl. Howe should throw his whole force into the Jerseys and bend his Course towards Philadelphia), that there will Scarce be a Junction of our Troops again this Season, it may be well for you to Consider of a proper partition of the Field Artillery, Artillerists and Stores for each Service, and delay no time in the arrangement and dispatch of those destined for the Western side of Hudsons River.

With respect to Yourself, I shall Leave it to your own choice to go over or stay; if you do not go, Colo. Mason must. Such Stores as are Necessary must be sent, and I intreat that no time may be lost in fixing Musket Cartridges for the use of the Army

[11] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson.

on the East side, whilst a Sufficient Number are sent, for the purpose of Supplying that on the West.

For other directions and Orders in the Line of your Department, I shall embrace some other Opportunity, in the mean time your own Judgment will govern you, and I am persuaded Sufficiently Stimulate to the discharge of every Act, by which the public Service can be benefited.

It is unnecessary to add, that if the Army of the Enemy should wholly or pretty generally throw themselves across the North River, that General Lee is to follow.[12]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN

Head Quarters, White Plains, November 10, 1776.

Sir: As the period is fast approaching, when part of this Army will stand released from their Engagements to serve the public, and little prospect remains of prevailing upon them to stay longer, it becomes highly necessary for you, in time, to set about a Collection (at least an Enquiry after) the Tents and other Stores which have been delivered from your Department, and see that they are carefully deposited in some safe Place.

The Tents (all such however as want it) are to be repaired, and put into the best order against another Season, as all other Articles which may require the like, and will admit of it, also should.

Take, especially, care that all the intrenching Tools at the different Encampments, not in immediate use, be all collected and removed to some place of Safety or where Major Genl. Lee shall direct; I do not conceive that there is Occasion to forward any with that part of the Army going to the Jerseys, but of this you can be satisfied from Inquiry.

[12] The draft, in the writing of Stephen Moylan, is signed by Washington.

The Uncertainty of the Enemy's designs, renders it almost impossible to point out places with any degree of propriety, for Magazines of Forage &c. dependent upon your Department. But as Peeks kill or the Neighbourhood of it, is considered as an important Post, you cannot do amiss in laying in plentifully at that place, And I should think another deposit at Croton (or Pine's) Bridge, could not be amiss, as it is represented to me as a post which ought to be held.

Time and Circumstances may render further Instructions Necessary, till which your own Judgment, and General Lee's Orders must be your Government.[13]

*To JOSEPH TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, near the White Plains,
November 10, 1776.

Sir: The late movements of, and accts. from the Enemy, rendering it indispensably necessary that a body of Troops should be thrown into the Jerseys, it will be incumbent on you to know how, and in what manner they are to be Supplied.

This move of a considerable part of our Force will, of course, lessen the consumption of Provisions at this side, and enable you to Increase your Magazines with greater facility; where to point these out, with precision, at this Instant, I know not; except at, or near Peekskill; which, as a Post of Importance, and contiguous to two Garrisons may well be adopted as one place for a deposit, and I think near Crotons (or Pines) Bridge may be considered as another; as I am taught to believe that this is also an Important pass, and necessary to be held.

My present Ideas are that the other places for our Magazines should be more Easterly, at, or near the other Passes through

[13] The draft, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, is addressed to the Quartermaster General or his assistant.

the Highlands. However on this Subject you will Consult Genl. Lee who will remain with the Troops at or in the Neighbourhood of this Camp for a while.

I should think it unadviseable to have more provisions or Stores in this Camp, than what may be necessary to supply the present wants of the Troops as from the Scarcity of Teams it has been found extremely difficult to have even the Tents and the necessary Baggage of the Army removed upon any Emergency however Urgent.

In case the Enemy should make a pretty general remove to the Jerseys that part of the Army under General Lee will more than probably follow, notice of which I now give.[14] [C.S.L.]

To EZEKIEL CHEEVER

Head Quarters, near the White Plains,
November 10, 1776.

Sir: As the Army (at least part of it) is near the period of its dissolution, you are to exert yourself to the utmost in recovering all the Arms and other Stores, which have been issued by you to the several Corps (whether Continental or Militia) in the Service of the United States. Such of the Arms as are unserviceable and cannot be repaired by the Armourers of the Army, are to be packed in Chests with an Inventory thereof, and numbered in order that they may be sent to the Board of War at Philadelphia, or delivered to their Order, for the purpose of Repair.

All the other Stores are to be deposited in careful Order, in some safe place near the Winter Quarters of the Troops on the East side of Hudson's River, comprehending the Stores taken from them.

[14] The draft, in the writing of Stephen Moylan, and signed by Washington, is in the *Washington Papers*.

You will remain on this Side (that is the East side) till further Orders and be particularly attentive to the above directions. I shall appoint some Person to do this Duty on the West Side of the River, who you are to furnish with a List of such Articles as the Troops there have drawn from you.

Give particular attention to the makers of Cartridges that there may be no want of this Article, and as a part of the Army are removing to the Jerseys, under the Supposition that the Enemy are bending their Course that way, consult with Colo. Knox on the Stores necessary for their use, and see they are forwarded.

It is unnecessary to add that the Troops under General Lee, will also cross Hudson's River, if it shou'd be necessary, in consequence of the Enemys throwing their force over.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, November 10, 1776.

Sir: I was yesterday Evening favored with a Call by the Gentlemen appointed Commissioners from your State, to arrange your officers, and to adopt some line of Conduct for recruiting the Quota of Men, which you are to furnish.

In discussing this Subject, the Gentlemen informed me, that your Assembly, to induce their Men to enlist more readily into the Service, had passed a vote advancing their pay Twenty Shillings pr Month, over and above that allowed by Congress.

It is seldom that I interfere in the determinations of any Public body, or venture to hold forth my opinion, contrary to the decisions which they form; but, upon this occasion, I must take the Liberty to mention, (especially as the influence of that Vote will be general and Continental), that, according to my Ideas and those of every General Officer I have Consulted with,

a more mistaken Policy could not have been adopted, or one that, in its Consequences, will more effectually prevent the great object which Congress have in view, and which the Situation of our affairs so loudly calls for, The Levying of a New Army. That the advance, allowed by your State, may be the means of raising your Quota of Men, sooner than it otherwise would, perhaps may be true; but, when it is considered, that it will be an effectual bar to the other States raising the Quotas exacted from them,—When It is certain, that, if their Quotas could be made up without this advance coming to their knowledge; that the moment they come to Act with Troops who receive a higher pay, that jealousy, impatience and mutiny will immediately take place, and occasion desertions, if not a total dissolution of the Army. It must be viewed in an Injurious and fatal point of light. That Troops will never act together, in the same Cause and for different pay, must be obvious to every one; Experience has already proved it in this Army. That Congress will take up the Matter and make the advance General, is a matter of which there can be but little probability, as the addition of a Suit of Cloathes to the former pay of the Privates, was a long time debated before it could be obtained. I have, etc.[15]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Peeks kill, November 11, 1776.

Sir: I have only time to acknowledge the honor of your Letter of the 5th. Inst. and its Several Inclosures, and to inform you, that agreeable to the Resolves of Congress I shall use every Measure in my Power, that the moving and present confused State of the Army, will admit of, for to appoint Officers for recruiting. You will have been advised before this, of the

[15] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

arrival of Commissioners from the Massachusetts. Others have come from Connecticut, but from the present appearance of things we seem but little, if any nearer levying an Army. I had anticipated the Resolve respecting the Militia, by writing to the Eastern States and to the Jerseys, by the advice of my Genl. Officers, and from a consciousness of the necessity of getting in a number of Men, if possible, to keep up the appearance of an Army. How my applications will succeed, the event must determine. I have little or no reason to expect, that the Militia now here will remain a day longer than the time they first engaged for. I have recommended their stay and requested it in General Orders. General Lincoln and the Massachusetts Commissioners, are using their Interest with those from that State, but as far as I can judge, we cannot rely on their staying.[16]

I left white Plains about 11 O'Clock yesterday. all peace then. The Enemy appeared to be preparing for their expedition to Jersey, according to every information. What their designs are, or whether their present conduct is not a feint I cannot determine. The Maryland and Virginia Troops under Lord Stirling have crossed the River as have part of those from the Jersey, the remainder are now embarking.

The Troops judged necessary to Secure the Several posts thro' the Highlands, have also got up. I am going to examine the Passes and direct such Works as may appear necessary, after which and making the best disposition I can, of things in this Quarter, I intend to proceed to Jersey, which I expect to do to Morrow.

[16] Congress (October 4) had passed resolutions authorizing Washington, after consulting with such of his generals as he could conveniently call together, to grant warrants to officers of States which had not sent commissioners for such, appointing officers as he thought worthy of commissions; that these officers proceed to recruit their regiments and that Washington also take such steps as he might think most proper for continuing the militia then in camp.

The Assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to induce their Men more readily to engage in the Service, have voted an Advance pay of Twenty Shillings pr Month in addition to that allowed by Congress to privates. It may perhaps be the means of their levying the Quotas exacted from them, sooner than they could otherwise be raised, but I am of Opinion[17] a more fatal and mistaken policy could not have entered their Councils, or one more detrimental to the General Cause. The Influence of the Vote will become Continental and materially affect the other States in making up their Levies. If they could do it, I am certain when the Troops come to act together, that Jealousy, impatience and mutiny would necessarily arise.—A different pay cannot exist in the same Army. The reasons are obvious and experience has proved their force, in the case of the Eastern and Southern Troops last Spring. Sensible of this, and of the pernicious consequences that would inevitably result from the advance, I have prevented the Commissioners from proceeding or publishing their Terms, till they could obtain the sense of Congress upon the Subject and remonstrated against It, in a Letter to Governor Trumbull. I am not Singular in opinion, I have the concurrence of all the General Officers, of its fatal tendency.[18]

I congratulate you and Congress on the News from Tyconderoga and that Genl Carlton and his Army have been Obliged to return to Canada, without attempting any thing. I have &ca.[19]

[17] The draft, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, has the word "convinced," which was softened to "of opinion" in the letter sent.

[18] Although Congress had determined what inducements should be offered to officers and men enlisting to serve during the war, the individual States undertook in some cases to alter the rewards. Maryland, having no lands in the west, offered to its recruits $10 in lieu of the 100 acres of land promised by Congress; but Congress decided that its faith was pledged to a performance of the promise of land, that the promise was equally obligatory upon its constituents, and no one State could by its own act be released therefrom, and requested the convention of Maryland to "reconsider" its resolution.—*Ford.*

[19] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Peeks Kill, November 12, 1776.

Dear Sir: Inclosed you will receive a Copy of Sundry Resolutions of Congress, which came to hand since I left the Plains. They will discover to you their Opinion, as to the Necessity of taking the most early Measures to levy the New Army. The Resolves cannot have any Operation but in the instance of the Rhode Island Regiments, Commissioners having come from the States of Massachusets and Connecticut and being on the way from Maryland. They will be superseded too if any have arrived from Rhode Island, therefore the Resolutions are under that Condition.

As it is of the last importance, that the recruiting Service should be begun, I must request, if the Commissrs. are not arrived from Rhode Island, that you will call upon Colo. Hitchcock,[20] who will inform you of the Officers recommended to that State by Genl. Greene &c. and give Orders to them to begin their Inlistments immediately, on the Terms and Conditions allowed by Congress. Such of them as agree to stay and will undertake the Business, will be commissioned according to the rank assigned 'em in that recommendation. I have not got it by me, having sent it away with my papers before I came from Harlem.

In respect to the Militia, you will try your influence to get them to remain; perhaps the requisition from Congress for that purpose, may have some effect, tho' I have but little expectation that it will.

The Inclosed Letter for Colo. Darby you will please send in by the first Flag.

[20] Col. Daniel Hitchcock, of the Eleventh Continental Infantry.

I cannot conclude without reminding you of the Military and other Stores about your Encampment and at North Castle, and to press the removal of them above Croton Bridge or such other places of Security, as you may Judge proper. Genl. Howe having sent no part of his force to Jersey yet, makes the measure more necessary, as he may perhaps turn his views another way and attempt their destruction.

I have directed Colo. Putnam to examine the passes in the Highlands, Eastward of this place, and to lay out such Works as may be necessary to secure 'em. When you remove your present Encampment, you will assign such a Number of Men to the several Posts, as you shall deem sufficient for their defence.

I hope the Trial of Majr. Austin for Burning the Houses, will not be forgot; public Justice requires that it should be brought on as soon as it can.[21] I am &c.[22]

*To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, at Peeks Kill, November 12, 1776.

Sir: The uncertainty with respect to the designs of the Enemy renders any disposition of our Army at this time a little unsettled; but for the present, your division, with such Troops as are now at Forts Constitution, Montgomery, and Independance are to be under your Command and remain in this Quarter for the security of the above Posts and the Passes through the Highlands from this place, and the one on the West side of Hudson's River. Colo. Tash's[23] Regiment is meant to be Included in this Command.

[21] Maj. Jonathan Williams Austin, of the Sixteenth Continental Infantry, was tried (November 12) at Philipseburg, N. Y., and sentenced to be dishonorably discharged. The proceedings of the court-martial are in the *Washington Papers*.

[22] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[23] Col. Thomas Tash, of the New Hampshire Militia.

Unnecessary it is for me to say any thing to evince the Importance of securing the Land and Water Communication through these Passes or to prove the Indispensable necessity of using every exertion in your power to have such Works erected for the defence of them as your own Judgment, assisted by that of your Brigadiers and the Engineer may shew the expediency of.

To form an accurate judgment of the proper places to Fortify, in order effectually to secure the two Land passes above mentioned through the highlands requires a considerable degree of attention and knowledge of the Roads and Ways leading through the Hills; these you must get from Information and observation as my stay here will not allow me to give any direction on this head with precision.

You will not only keep in view the Importance of securing these Passes but the Necessity of doing it without delay; not only from the probability of the Enemy's attempting to seize them, but from the advanced Season, which will not admit of any Spade Work after the Frost (which may be daily expected) sets in. Loose not a moments time therefore in choosing the Grounds on the East, and West side of the River, on which your intended Works are to be erected. Let your Men designd for each Post be speedily alloted, and by your presence, and otherwise, do every thing to stimulate the Officers (respectively Commanding at each) to exert themselves in forwarding them.

The Cheapest kind of Barracks must be erected, contiguous to these places where no Covering now is for the Men. These may, I should think, be built of Logs and made warm at very little cost. In aportioning your Men to the different Posts (those to be established, as well as those already fixed on the River) I advise your keeping the Corps as much as possible together, and also desire that in this allotment you will consult your Officers,

and such Gentlemen as have it in their power (from their superior knowledge of the Country) to afford you good advice.

Independant of the Barracks which may be found Necessary for the Men at the Posts before mentioned, I should think others ought to be Built at such Places in this Neighbourhood as the Quarter Master General and Engineer shall point out, as this must, from the Nature of it, be considered in an important point of view, and as well adapted for Winter Quarter for part of the Army, as any other place can be.

If contrary to the general received opinion, Genl. Howes remove to Dobbs's Ferry was only intended as a feint to draw of part of our Force from the place which we last occupied and should make an attempt upon Genl. Lee you are to give him all the Aid you can, taking care at the same time to keep guards in the Posts and Passes you occupy.

For the speedy, and regular punishment of Offences, you are hereby authorized and empowered, whilst you remain in a seperate Camp, to hold General Courts Martial and carry the judgments of them into Execution, in all cases whatsoever.

Be particularly careful of all Intrenching Tools, Tents, (seeing that the Bottoms of them are not covered with Dirt), and above all take care that no discharged Soldier is suffered to carry away any of the Publick Arms, or Accoutrements; apply to the Commissary of Stores for a list of those things furnished to the respective Colonels of Regiments and see that they acct. for them before the Men are dismissed. In like manner should every thing had of the Quarter Master Genl. be delivered up.

Keep persons Employed in making of Cartridges and be particularly attentive that the Stores are taken care of, and the Powder kept from receiving damage; also prevent the Soldiery from committing any kind of waste and injuries to private or public property.

The Men which composed the Detachment under Colo. Lasher are all to join their respective Corps immediately.

[MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Genl. Green's Quarters, November 14, 1776.

Dear Sir: As an Exchange of Prisoners is likely to take effect, as soon as the nature of the case will admit, and as in the course of the transaction it may possibly happen, that an attempt may be made by the Enemy to redeem their prisoners, by men who were never ingaged in our Service, I must request you immediately to direct the Colonels or Commanders of Regiments in your Division, to make out an exact list of the particular Officers and Privates who have been killed, taken prisoners or are missing in the respective Regiments, and companies to which they belonged; specifying the names of the whole, and the time when each Officer or Private was killed, taken prisoner or missing; This List, as soon as it is completed, you will transmit to Head Quarters.[24] I am etc.

P. S. I now inclose you, a copy of the recommendation of the Officers for the State of Rhode Island, which was furnished by General Greene,[25] and transmitted by me to Governor Cooke some time since. If the Commrs. have not yet arrived from thence, you will be pleased to direct the Officers therein

[24] Several returns of this nature, dated Nov. 17, 1776, are in the *Washington Papers*. They are from Col. Jedidiah Huntington's, Brig. Gen. Samuel Holden Parsons's, Brig. Gen. John Morin Scott's, and Brig. Gen. George Clinton's brigades, Col. Samuel Selden's, Col. William Douglas's and Col. Ebenezer Gay's regiments. A general return of the entire force under Lee, dated Nov. 24, 1776, is printed in Force's *American* Archives, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 831.

[25] "The recommendation of General Green which you transmitted to me threw the Officers to whom I communicated it into so great a flame of discontent, that I ventur'd notwithstanding your orders, to hesitate. They accus'd him of partiallity to his connexions and Townsmen, to the prejudice of men of manifestly superior merit; indeed, it appears from the concurrent testimony of unbias'd Persons, that some of the subjects He recommended were wretched; in short, I was so stunn'd with their clamour that I delay'd until the arrival of the Committee."—*Lee to Washington*, Nov. 19, 1776. Lee's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

nominated, who choose to serve, to recruit as fast as possible, out of their own Regiments and agreeable to the General Orders issued at the White Plains, before my departure.[26]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

General Greene's Quarters, November 14, 1776.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here Yesterday, and that the whole of the Troops belonging to the States, which lay South of Hudsons River and which were in New York Government have passed over to this side, except the Regiment, lately Colo Smallwood's which I expect is now on their march. That they may be ready to check any incursions the Enemy may attempt in this Neighbourhood, I intend to quarter them at Brunswick, Amboy, Elizabeth Town, New-Ark and about this Place, Unless Congress should conceive it necessary for any of them to be Stationed at or more contiguous to Philadelphia. In such case they will be pleased to Signify their pleasure. There will be very few of them after the departure of those who were engaged for the Flying Camp and which is fast approaching. The disposition I have mentioned, seems to me well calculated for the end proposed and also for their accommodation.

The movements and designs of the Enemy are not yet understood. Various are the opinions and reports on this Head. From every information, the whole have removed from Dobb's ferry towards Kingsbridge, and it seems to be generally beleived on all hands, that the investing of Fort Washington is one object they have in view.—But that can employ but a small part of their force. Whether they intend a Southern expedition must be determined by time. To me there appears a probability

[26] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson and George Lewis. This same letter, except the P. S., was sent to Maj. Gen. William Heath.

of it, and which seems to be favoured by the advices we have, that many Transports are wooding and Watering. General Greene's Letter[27] would give you the Substance of the Intelligence brought by Mr. Mercereau[28] from Staten Island in this Instance, which he received before It came to me.

Inclosed you have Copies of two Letters from Genl. Howe and of my Answer to the first of them. The Letter alluded to and returned in his last, was One from myself to Mrs. Washington of the 25th. Ulto. from whence I conclude that all the Letters, which went by the Boston Express, have come to his possession.[29] You will also perceive that General Howe has requested the return of Peter Jack a servant to Major Stewart, to which I have consented, as he was not in the Military line and the requisition agreeable to the Custom of War. This Servant having been sent to Philadelphia, with the Waldeckers and other Prisoners, I must request the favor of you to have him conveyed to Genl. Greene by the earliest Opportunity, in order that he may be returned to his master.

Before I conclude, I beg leave not only to suggest but to urge the necessity of encreasing our Field Artillery very considerably. Experience has convinced me, as it has every Gentleman of discernment in this Army, that while we remain so much inferior to the Enemy in this instance, we must carry on the war under Infinite disadvantages, and without the smallest probability of success. It has been peculiarly owing to the

[27] Greene had written (November 11) of intelligence from New York of a projected British expedition against South Carolina. His letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[28] John Mercereau. He sent in valuable intelligence to headquarters throughout the war while the main army was in the vicinity of New York City.

[29] Howe's letters, dated Nov. 8 and 11, 1776, are in the *Wasnington Papers.* They relate mainly to the exchange of prisoners. For answer to the first see Washington's letter to Howe, Nov. 9, 1776, *ante.* The capture of these letters, among which was the one to Mrs. Washington, which Howe returned unopened, seems to have furnished the idea for J. Bew's London publication of the "Spurious Letters" of Washington. (See Washington's letter to Lund Washington, June 12, 1776, *ante;* and note to General Orders, Nov. 1, 1776, *ante.*

situation of the Country where their operations have been conducted, and to the rough and strong grounds we possessed ourselves of and over which they had to pass, that they have not carried their Arms by means of their Artillery to a much greater extent. When these difficulties cease, by changing the Scene of action to a level champaign Country, the worst of consequences are justly to be apprehended. I would therefore, with the concurrence of all the Officers whom I have spoke to upon the subject, submit to the consideration of Congress, whether immediate measures ought not be taken for procuring a respectable Train. It is agreed on all hands, that each Battalion should be furnished at least with Two pieces, and that a smaller number than 100 of 3 lb., 50 of 6 lb. and 50 of 12 lb. should not be provided in addition to those we now have—besides these, if some 18 and 24 Pounders are ordered, the Train will be more serviceable and compleat. The whole should be of Brass for the most obvious reasons. they will be much more portable, not half so liable to burst, and when they do, no damage is occasioned by it, and they may be cast over again. Sizes before described should be particularly attended to, if they are not, there will be great reason to expect mistakes and confusion in the charges in Time of Action, as it has frequently happened in the best regulated Armies. The disparity between those I have mentioned and such as are of an Intermediate size, is difficult to discern. It is also agreed, that a Regiment of Artillerists, with approved and experienced Officers, should be obtained if possible, and some Engineers of known reputation and abilities. I am sorry to say, too ready an Indulgence has been had to several appointments in the latter instance and that Men have been promoted who seem to me to know but little if any thing of the business. perhaps this Train &c. may be looked upon by some as large and expensive; true it will be so, but when it is

considered that the Enemy (having effected but little in the course of the present Campaign) will use their utmost efforts to subjugate us in the next, every consideration of that sort should be disregarded, and every possible preparation made to frustrate their unjust and wicked attempts. How they are to be procured, is to be inquired into. That we cannot provide them among ourselves, or more than a very small proportion, so trifling as not to deserve our notice is evident; therefore I would advise, with all imaginable deference that without any abatement of our own Internal exertions, application should be immediately made to such Powers, as can and may be willing to supply them. They cannot be obtained too early, if soon enough, and I am told they may be easily had from France and Holland.[30]

Mr. Trumbull, the Commissary General, has frequently mentioned to me of late, the inadequacy of his pay to his trouble and the great risk he is subject to, on account of the large sums of Money which pass thro his Hands. He has stated his case with a view of laying it before Congress, and obtaining a more adequate compensation. My sentiments upon the subject are already known, but yet I shall take the liberty to add, that I think his complaint to be well founded and that his pay, considering the important duties, risks of his office, by no means sufficient, and that the footing he seems to think it should be upon himself, appears just and reasonable.

A proposition having been made long since to Genl Howe and agreed to by him, for an Exchange of Prisoners, in consequence of the Resolutions of Congress to that effect, I shall be extremely happy if you will give directions to the Committees

[30] On November 19 Congress resolved that one hundred 3-pounders, fifty 6-pounders, fifty 12-pounders, thirteen 18-pounders, and thirteen 24-pounders, all of brass, be immediately provided for the armies of the United States. The Secret Committee was directed to procure them and that the "matter be kept as secret as the nature of the business will admit." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

and those having the charge of Prisoners in the several states south of Jersey, to transmit me proper Lists of the names of all the Commissioned Officers and of their Ranks and the Corps they belong to; also the number of the Non Commissioned and Privates and their respective Regiments. You will perceive by his Letter he supposes me to have affected some delay or to have been unmindfull of the Proposition I had made.

I propose to stay in this neighbourhood a few days, in which time I expect the designs of the Enemy will be more disclosed, and their Incursions be made in this quarter, or their investiture of Fort Washington, if they are intended.[31] I have the honor &c.[32]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Genl. Green's Quarters, November 15, 1776.

Gentlemen: On Wednesday evening I received the favor of your letter of the 8th Instt.,[33] in consequence of which, I stopped the Flagg that was going in with the Ladies you mention, pointing out to them the necessity of the measure and recommending them to write to their Husbands and connections to obtain Genl. How's assurances for the release of Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Robinson[34] and her children with their baggage, as the condition on which they will be permitted to go in themselves. These terms I can only extend to Mrs. Barrow[35] and Mrs. Kempe who had never obtained my leave, Mrs. Watts had, and my promise that she should go in. The whole however were prepared to go when the Letter reached New Ark. The mode I have adopted seems most likely and the only proper one

[31] The draft, in the *Washington Papers*, in the writing of Harrison, is unfinished.
[32] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[33] This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.
[34] Mrs. Lewis, wife of Francis Lewis, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence; Mrs. Ann Robertson was her daughter.
[35] Mrs. Barrow was the wife of a British paymaster.

to procure the enlargement of our Ladies which I wish for much. I am, etc.[36]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Henkenseck, November 15, 1776.

Gentn: Having given my promise to Genl. Howe on his application, that Peter Jack, a Servant of Major Stewart, who was sent to Philadelphia with the Waldeckers and other prisoners and who has nothing to do in the Military line, should be returned to his Master agreeable to the usage of War in such cases, I must take the liberty to request the favor of you, to have him conveyed to Genl. Greene by the earliest opportunity that he may be forwarded to his Master in compliance with my promise.

I also wish, that you would have all the British prisoners collected that you conveniently can and sent to me, as soon as possible, with the Hessian prisoners, that I may exchange them. The return of the latter I think will be attended with many salutary consequences, but should It be made without that of a large proportion of other Troops, It will carry the marks of design, and occasion precautions to be taken to prevent the ends we have in view. I have the Honor, etc.[36]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

General Greene's Quarters, November 16, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you last, an important Event has taken place, of which I wish to give you the earliest Intelligence.

The preservation of the Passage of the North River, was an Object of so much consequence, that I thought no pains or Expence too great for that purpose, and therefore after sending

[36] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

off all the Valuable stores, except such as were necessary for its Defence, I determined agreeable to the Advice of the most of the General Officers, to risque something to defend the Post on the East Side call'd Mount Washington.[37] When the Army moved up, in Consequence of Genl. Howe's landing at Frog Point, Colo. Magaw was left in that Command, with about 1200 Men, and orders given to defend it to the last. Afterwards, reflecting upon the smallness of the Garrison and the Difficulty of their holding it, if Genl. Howe should fall down upon it with his whole Force, I wrote to Genl. Greene who had the Command on the Jersey Shore, directing him to govern himself by Circumstances, and to retain or evacuate the Post, as he should think best, and revoking the absolute Order to Colo. Magaw to defend the post to the last Extremity; Genl. Greene struck with the Importance of the Post, and the Discouragement which our Evacuation of Posts must necessarily have given, reinforced Colo Magaw with Detachments from several Regiments of the Flying Camp, but chiefly of Pennsylvania, so as to make up the Number about 2000. In this situation, things were Yesterday, when General Howe demanded the Surrender of the Garrison, to which Col. Magaw returned a spirited refusal.[38] Immediately upon receiving an Account of this

[37] On the night of November 14, 30 flatboats were sent to Kings Bridge by the British, who ferried their troops over the Harlem River the next day and marched upon Fort Washington.

[38] Colonel Magaw returned the following answer to Lieut. Col. Stephen Kemble, adjutant general of the British Army, who sent him the summons to surrender the fort: "Sir, If I rightly understand the purport of your message from Gen: Howe, communicated to Colonel Swoope, 'this post is to be immediately surrendered or the garrison put to the sword.' I rather think it a mistake, than a settled resolution in General Howe, to act a part so unworthy of himself and the British nation. But give me leave to assure his excellency, that, actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

The copy of this reply was immediately sent across the river to General Greene, and inclosed in the following note from him to General Washington, who was then at Hackensack, N. J.: "Inclosed you have a letter from Col. Magaw. The contents will require your Excellency's attention. I have directed Col. Magaw to defend the place until he hears from me. I have ordered General Herd's brigade to hasten on. I shall go to the Island soon. Fort Lee, 4 o'clock."

A copy of Magaw's reply, in his writing and signed by him, is in the *Washington Papers*.

transaction, I came from Hackensack to this place, and had partly cross'd the North River, when I met Genl. Putnam and Genl. Greene, who were just returning from thence, and informed me that the Troops were in high Spirits and would make a good Defence, and it being late at night I returned.

Early this Morning Colo. Magaw posted his Troops partly in the Lines thrown up by our Army on our first coming thither from New York, and partly on a commanding Hill laying North of Mount Washington (the Lines being all to the Southward) In this position the attack began about Ten O'Clock, which our Troops stood, and returned the Fire in such a Manner as gave me great Hopes the Enemy was intirely repulsed. But at this Time a Body of Troops cross'd Harlem River in Boats and landed inside of the second Lines, our Troops being then engaged in the first. Colo. Cadwalader who commanded in the Lines sent off a Detachment to oppose them, but they being overpowred by numbers gave way, upon which Colo. Cadwallader ordered his Troops to retreat, in order to gain the Fort; It was done with much Confusion, and the Enemy crossing over came in upon them in such a Manner that a number of them surrendered. At this time the Hessians advanced on the North Side of the Fort in very large Bodies, they were received by the Troops posted there with proper Spirit and kept back a Considerable time. But at length they were also obliged to submit to a superiority of numbers and retire under the cannon of the Fort. The Enemy having advanced thus far, halted and immediately a Flag went in with a Repetition of the demand of the Fortress as I suppose.[39] At this time I sent a Billet to Col Magaw, directing him to hold out, and I would endeavour this Evening to bring off the Garrison, if the Fortress could not

[39]According to Sparks, General Howe in his public dispatch stated that Colonel Rahl had brought his column within 100 yards of the fort when he summoned it to surrender, and a treaty was acceded to by Colonel Magaw.

be maintained, as I did not expect it could, the Enemy being possessed of the adjacent Ground. But before this reached him, he had entered too far into a Treaty to retract. After which, Colo. Cadwallader told another messenger who went over, that they had been able to obtain no other Terms than to surrender as Prisoners of War.[40] In this situation Matters now stand. I have stopped Genl. Beall's and Genl. Heard's Brigades to preserve the Post and Stores here, which with the other Troops I hope we shall be able to effect.

I dont yet know the number of killed and wounded on either Side. but from the heaviness and Continuance of Fire in some places, I imagine there must have been considerable Execution.[41]

The Loss of such a number of Officers and Men, many of whom have been trained with more than common attention, will I fear be severely felt. But when that of the Arms and Accoutrements is added, much more so, and must be a farther Incentive to procure as considerable a Supply as possible for the New Troops, as soon as it can be done. I have &c.[42]

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

General Greene's Quarters, November 16, 1776.

Gentn.: I do myself the honor to transmit to you, a Copy of Sundry Resolves of Congress which came to hand yesterday

[40] They were required to surrender as prisoners of war, giving up their arms, ammunition, and stores of every kind; but the men in the garrison were allowed to keep possession of their baggage and the officers to retain their swords.—*Sparks.*

[41] The British loss was in the neighborhood of 500 in killed and wounded. Their official report is printed in Force's *American Archives,* Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1056–1057; their return of ordnance and stores captured is on page 1058. The American loss was placed at about 150 in killed and wounded. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of Congress wrote to the United States Commissioners at Paris, Dec. 30, 1776, that 2,634 prisoners had been taken and 43 guns, with ammunition, stores, etc. According to the table of prisoners compiled by the British commissary of prisoners and sent by Howe to Washington for exchange negotiations, the total was 2,818. This table is printed by Sparks in his *Writings of Washington,* vol. 4, p. 547.

[42] The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed and Tench Tilghman; the letter sent is in that of Tilghman.

evening. By these you will perceive, that they have entered in to some new regulations respecting the Inlistment of the new Army, and reprobating the measures, which I presume you have heard, have been adopted by the State of Massachusetts Bay, for raising the Quota to be furnished by them: My view in doing this, is to inform you of their sense upon this Subject, and that they will admit of no departure from the Terms they themselves have heretofore published, except in the instances which are mentioned in these Resolves; they are plain and explicit, and I will take the Liberty to add, should form a part of the Instructions to be given to the Officers, who may be appointed to recruit.

I would also beg leave to observe that the necessity of raising the new army, becomes more and more urgent, and is such, as calls for every possible exertion to effect it.[43]

The Congress convinced of this and seeing the delays of some of the States, in carrying the Resolves recommended to them into execution, have impowred and required me, to nominate officers to the Regiments of such States, as have not sent Commissioners to the Army, for that purpose. As this is a Matter in which I would not wish to interfere at this time, farther than compelled by their direction and the situation of our affairs, I shall be happy to know what progress you have made in this Instance, and whether the arrangement for your Regiments is compleated. If it is not finished, let me intreat you to do it, as speedily as possible.—The necessity is obvious and must be felt by every one; till the officers are appointed, no measures for enlisting men can be pursued. If the bounty allowed by Congress, could be paid down, it is more than probable, it

[43] At this point in the draft is stricken out "exertion on the part of the Several States. The dissolution of the present, is fast approaching, nay the departure of a large portion of It, is on the Eve of taking place. These facts are all known, but yet seem not to be sufficiently attended to."

might induce many to engage more readily. under this Idea I shall be ready to advance, to such officers as you appoint to the Command of the Regiments, upon your requisition, such sums of Money as may be sufficient for that purpose, If provision has not been, or shall not be otherwise made by Congress for the same.

I am sorry to inform you that this day about 12 O'Clock the Enemy made a General Attack upon our Lines about Fort Washington; which having carried, the Garrison retired within the Fort, Colo Magaw, finding there was no possibility of a Retreat across the North River, over to Fort Lee, surrendered the Post. We do not yet know our own loss or that of the Enemy in forcing the Lines; but I imagine it must have been considerable on both sides, as the Fire in some Parts was of long continuance and heavy; neither do I know the Terms of Capitulation. The Force of the Garrison before the Attack was about 2000 Men. I have the honor to be, etc.[44]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Genl. Greene's Quarters, November 16, 1776.

Dear Sir: You will perceive, by the inclosed Resolves, that Congress have entered into some new Regulations respecting the Inlistment of the New Army, and reprobating the measures adopted by the State of Massachusets Bay, for raising their Quota of Men.

As every possible exertion should be used for recruiting the Army as speedily as may be, I request that you immediately publish in Orders, that an allowance of a Dollar and one third of a Dollar will be paid to the Officers for every Soldier they shall inlist, whether in or out of Camp. Also, that it will be optional in the Soldiers to inlist during the continuance of the

[44] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Tench Tilghman.

war, or for three Years, unless sooner discharged by Congress. In the former case, they are to receive all such bounty and pay as have been heretofore mentioned in Orders. Those who engage for the latter time, (that of three years) are not to receive the bounty in Land. That no mistakes may be made, you will direct the Recruiting Officers from your Division, to provide two distinct Inlisting Rolls, One for those to sign who engage during the war, the other for those who inlist for three years, if their service shall be so long requested.[45]

* * * * *[46]

Before I left Peeks Kill I urged to General Heath the Necessity of securing the pass thro' the High Lands next to the River, as well on that as this side, and to the Forts above; But as the preserving of those and others which lay more Easterly and which are equally essential, is a matter of the last importance, I must beg you to turn your attention that way, and to have such measures adopted for their defence, as your Judgment shall suggest to be necessary. I do not mean to advise the abandoning your present post, contrary to your own Opinion,

[45] Congress continued to urge upon the States the pressing necessity for raising troops. On November 19 it was resolved that it was "necessary upon every principle of propriety, to remind the several states, how indispensable it is to the common safety, that they pursue the most immediate and vigorous measures to furnish their respective quotas of troops for the new army, as the time of service, for which the present army was inlisted, is so near expiring, that the country may be left in a condition in a great measure defenceless, unless quickly supplied by new levies." On November 21, as the necessity was so evident and pressing, Congress authorized each State to enlist men either for the war or three years, without presenting enlisting rolls for both terms, "keeping it always in view, that, in the opinion of Congress, the public service will be best promoted by inlistments for the war, if the recruiting business is not retarded thereby." On November 22 the matter was again considered, some parts of the army being already disbanded, and there being "danger that the enemy must be opposed either by unequal numbers, or by militia, not only a more expensive but a less efficacious aid than regular forces; and there being good grounds to hope that vigorous efforts at this critical juncture, may bring the war to a speedy as well as a happy conclusion." Washington was sent blank commissions and empowered to fill them in as he thought fit and to speed the recruiting by all means in his power. William Paca, John Witherspoon, and George Ross were appointed to go to headquarters to consult with the General on the delay of pay and other grievances of the soldiers.

[46] The omitted paragraph relating the loss of Fort Washington is the same as that in Washington's letter to the New York Legislature, Nov 16, 1776, *q. v.*

but only to mention my Ideas of the importance of those passes, and that you cannot give too much attention to their Security, by having Works erected in the most advantageous places for that purpose. I am &c.

P. S. The inclosed Letter for Governor Trumbull[47] you will please to transmit by the first Opportunity.[48]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

General Greene's Quarters, November 17, 1776.

Sir: With much concern I beg leave to inform you of an unfortunate event that has taken place. * * *[49] The importance of the North River, and the sanguine wishes of all to prevent the enemy from possessing it, have been the causes of this unhappy catastrophe. I have the honour etc.

P. S. You will be pleased to transmit this intelligence to Governour Cooke, with a requisition to him to send it to the Massachusetts State.

As an exchange of prisoners must be naturally desired by both parties, I shall be glad to know if those in your State are ready, and of your sentiments, by the earliest opportunity, as to the mode, whether it will be best by water or by land.[50]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY

Hackensack, November 18, 1776.

Dear Sir: I just now received the favor of your Letter of the 17th,[51] I confess, I did not expect that any Warrants would have been presented to you for payment, except those which I signed

[47] The letter for Governor Trumbull is that of Nov. 17, 1776, *q. v.*

[48] The draft is by Robert Hanson Harrison. Precisely the same letter was sent to Maj. Gen. William Heath with a P. S. directing that the resolves be sent to each of his colonels "that no mistakes may happen."

[49] The omitted paragraph, regarding the capture of Fort Washington, is identical with that in Washington's letter to the New York Legislature, Nov. 16, 1776, *q. v.*

[50] The text is from Force's *American Archives.*

[51] Major Generals Lee and Heath claimed the right to draw warrants. Paymaster General Palfrey's letter, dated Nov. 17, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers.*

myself. The Inconveniences which might arise, if several persons in the same Army were allowed to draw, are obvious and such as might produce great uneasiness and injustice to the Public. All who applied to me, were told, that the Abstracts were to be deposited with you and sent down in order to be signed by me at once, or that they would be compleated by my signature, if brought at different times. I cannot allow double pay to Major Lee[52] or any other Officer. It is expressly against the Resolves of Congress. The Militia will be paid on making out proper Abstracts and such as are Satisfactory to you, as other Troops are. You must inform their Officers, that they should be very particular in not charging for a longer time than the men were in actual Service, and the abstracts should be certified by their Brigadiers or Colos. Commandants.

As I cannot conceive it will be for the public good, that warrants should be drawn by different Officers and to prevent further mistakes on that account, I request that you will remove your Office near my Head Quarters, and pay no Warrants hereafter but such as come from me, giving notice of your removal. I shall mention to Congress the demands that will be on you, desiring that provision may be made for the same. I am &c.[53]

To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Hackinsac, November 19, 1776.[54]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Hackensack, November 19, 1776.

Sir: I have not been yet able, to obtain a particular account of the unhappy affair of the 16th, nor of the Terms on which the Garrison surrendered. The Intelligence that has come to hand,

[52] Maj. William Raymond Lee, of the Fourteenth Continental Infantry.
[53] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[54] See letter to John Augustine Washington, Nov. 6, 1776, *ante*.

is not so full and accurate as I could wish. One of the Artillery, and whose information is most direct, who escaped on Sunday night says the Enemy's loss was very considerable, especially in the attack made above the Fort by the Division of Hessians that Marched from Kingsbridge, and where Lieut. Colo Rawlings[55] of the late Colo. Stevenson's Regiment was posted. They burnt Yesterday one or two Houses on the Heights and contiguous to the Fort, and appeared by advices from Genl. Greene, to be moving in the evening, their Main Body down towards the City. Whether they will close the Campaign without attempting something more, or make an incursion into Jersey must be determined by the events themselves.

As Fort Lee was always considered, as only necessary in conjunction with that on the East side of the River, to preserve the Communication across, and to prevent the Enemy from a free Navigation, It has become of no importance by the loss of the other, or not so material, as to employ a force for its defence. Being viewed in this, light and apprehending that the stores there, would be precariously situated, their removal has been determined on, to Boundbrook above Brunswick, Prince Town, Springfield and Acquackinac Bridge, as places that will not be subject to sudden danger in case the Enemy should pass the River, and which have been thought proper, as repositories for our Stores of Provisions and Forage.[56] The Troops belonging to the Flying Camp under Genls. Heard and Beal, with what remains of Genl. Ewing's Brigade, are now at Fort Lee, where

[55] Lieut. Col. Moses Rawlings, of Stephenson's rifle regiment. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y.; colonel of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments in January, 1777; resigned in June, 1779.

[56] Sir William Howe's letter to Lord George Germain (November 30) describes the British military movements from the landing on Frogs Point to the capture of Fort Lee and the beginning of the pursuit of Washington through New Jersey. Of Fort Lee, he wrote that Admiral Howe sent boats to Kings Bridge the night of November 17, and the troops were ferried across the Hudson the 18th and landed undiscovered about 7 miles above Fort Lee at 10 o'clock a. m. "Lord Cornwallis immediately began his march, and had not the enemy at Fort Lee been apprised of his moving towards them by a countryman, after he had proceeded some distance, he would

they will continue till the stores are got away. By the time that is effected, their term of inlistment will be near expiring, and if the Enemy should make a push in this Quarter, the only Troops that there will be to oppose them, will be Hand's, Hazlet's; the Regiments from Virginia[57] that lately Smallwood's, the latter greatly reduced by the losses it sustained on Long Island &c. and sickness, nor are the rest by any means complete. In addition to these, I am told there are a few of the Militia of this State, which have been called in by Governor Livingston. I shall make such a disposition of the whole at Brunswick and at the intermediate Posts, as shall seem most likely to guard against the designs of the Enemy and to prevent them making an Irruption or foraging with detached Parties.

The Inclosed letter from Cols. Miles[58] and Atlee,[59] will shew Congress the distressed situation of our Prisoners in New York, and will become greater every day, by the cold, inclement Season that is approaching. It will be happy, if some expedient can be adopted by which they may be furnished with necessary Blankets and Cloathing. Humanity and the good of the service require it. I think the mode suggested by these Gentlemen for establishing a credit, appears as likely to succeed, and as eligible, as any that occurs to me. It is probable Many Articles that may be wanted, can be obtained there and upon better Terms than elsewhere. In respect to provision, their allowance perhaps is as good as the Situation of Genl.

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have surrounded two thousand men at the fort, who escaped in the utmost confusion, leaving all their artillery and a large quantity of stores and provisions, their tents standing, and kettles upon the fire."

[57] The draft says "the five Virginia Regiments."

[58] Col. Samuel Miles, of a Pennsylvania rifle regiment. He was taken prisoner on Long Island, N. Y.; exchanged in April, 1778; brigadier general, Pennsylvania State troops. His letter, dated Nov. 10, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers.*

[59] Col. Samuel John Atlee, of the Pennsylvania Musket Battalion. He was wounded and taken prisoner at Long Island, N. Y.; exchanged in August, 1778; did not reenter the service. His letter, dated Nov. 9, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers.* A joint letter from both Miles and Atlee was undated. It is in the *Washington Papers* under date of November, 1776.

How's Stores will admit of. It has been said of late by deserters and others, that they were rather scant.

By a letter from the Paymaster General of the 17th he says there will be a necessity that large and early remittances should be made him. The demands, when the Troops now in service are dismissed, will be extremely great. besides the bounty to recruits requires a large supply and he adds, that the Commissary Genl. has informed him, that between this and the last of December he shall have occasion for a Million of Dollars.

November 21.

The unhappy affair of the 16th has been succeeded by further Misfortunes.

Yesterday Morning a large body of the Enemy landed between Dobb's Ferry and Fort Lee.[60] Their object was evidently to inclose the whole of our Troops and stores that lay between the North and Hackensac Rivers, which form a very narrow neck of Land. For this purpose they formed and Marched, as soon as they had ascended the High Grounds towards the Fort. Upon the first information of their having landed and of their movements, our men were ordered to meet them, but finding their numbers greatly superior and that they were extending themselves to seize on the passes over the River, It was thought proper to withdraw our Men, which was effected and their retreat secured.[61] We lost the whole of the Cannon that was at the Fort except two twelve pounders, and a great deal of baggage, between two and three hundred Tents,—about a thousand Barrels of Flour and other stores in the Quarter Master's Department. This loss was inevitable, As many of the stores had been removed, as circumstances and time would admit of.

[60] Grayson, in his letter of November 20 to General Lee, written by Washington's direction, described the landing place as Closter Dock, "nearly opposite to Philip's house." He added: "His Excellency thinks it would be adviseable in you to remove the Troops under you Command on this side of the North River and there wait for farther Order." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[61] The draft says "over Hackinsac Bridge."

The Ammunition had been happily got away. Our present situation between Hackensac and Posaic Rivers, being exactly similar to our late one, and our force here by no means adequate to an Opposition, that will promise the smallest probability of Success, we are taking measures to retire over the Waters of the latter, when the best dispositions will be formed, that Circumstances will admit of.

By Colo. Cadwalader[62] who has been permitted by General Howe to return to his Friend.[63] I am informed the surrender of the Garrison on the 16th was on the common terms, as prisoners of War. The loss of the Hessians about Three hundred Privates and Twenty Seven Officers, Killed and Wounded, about forty of the British Troops and two or three Officers. The loss on our side but inconsiderable. I beg leave to refer you to him for a more particular account and also for his relation of the distresses of our Prisoners. Colo. Miles and Atlee's Letter, mentioned above upon this subject, was thro mistake sent from hence yesterday evening. The mode of relief proposed by them, was a Credit or supply of Cash, thro' the means of Mr. Franks.[64] This seems to be doubtful, as he is said to be in Confinement by Colo Cadwalader, provided it would have been otherwise practicable.

P. S. Your favor of the 16th. was duly received. My Letter to the Board of War[65] on the subject of the return of the Waldeckers I presume you will have seen.[66]

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[62] Col. Lambert Cadwalader was a native of New Jersey but colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been captured at Fort Washington, N. Y., and after his release resigned from the Army. He was a Delegate from New Jersey to the Continental Congress, 1784–1787, and a Member of the United States House of Representatives, 1789–1791, 1793–1795. He died in 1823.

[63] Colonel Cadwalader was immediately released without parole by Sir William Howe, at the instance of General Prescott, who, when a prisoner in Philadelphia, had received civilties from Colonel Cadwalader's father.—*Sparks.*

[64] David Franks, British commissary of prisoners.

[65] The letter to the Board of War is that of Nov. 15, 1776, *q. v.* On November 15 Congress had given Washington "leave to negotiate an exchange of the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, that are prisoners to these states."

[66] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, who also wrote the draft.

To COLONEL SAMUEL JOHN ATLEE

Head Quarters, November 21, 1776.

Sir: I am favoured with yours of the 9th. instant, I can so well conceive, the desire that persons in captivity must feel for releasment, and a return to their friends, that I do not wonder at your anxious endeavours to procure your own. If Mr. Thomas Irving receiver Genl. of South Carolina (who I do not look upon in the military line) can receive any assurance from Genl. Howe, that he will exchange you for him, I certainly can have no objection. This proposition cannot with propriety go from me to Genl. Howe; because by the terms of our Cartel, exchanges can only be proposed between Officers of equal Rank, but either side may deviate from the Rule if they please, as was the case of Governor Brown for Brigadier Lord Stirling. If therefore, you and Mr. Irving can obtain Genl. Howe's consent for your reciprocal Exchange, I will immediately upon receiving his approbation of the measure, send for Mr. Irving from Connecticut.

In Consequence of a joint Letter from you and Colo. Miles, respecting the deplorable condition of our prisoners in New York, for want of cloaths and other necessaries, I have laid the matter before Congress, and have recommended it to them, to provide a proper Fund for their Support. As to the scanty allowance of Provisions, I would hope that it proceeded from the State of General Howe's Stores and not from any desire in him to add Famine to the misfortune of Captivity. I am &c.[67]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Hackensack, November 21, 1776.

Dear General: It must be painful to you as well as to us to have no news to send you, but of a melancholy nature. Yesterday

[67] The draft is by Tench Tilghman. On November 25 Washington wrote again practically the same letter to Atlee, probably because, not having his papers to consult, he did not recall having answered Atlee's letter of November 9.

Morning the Enemy landed a large Body of Troops below Dobb's Ferry, and advanced very rapidly to the Fort called by your Name. I immediately went over and as the Fort was not tenable on this side, [and we in a narrow Neck of Land, the passes out of which the Enemy were attempting to sieze], directed the Troops consisting of Beall's, Heard's, the remainder of Ewing's Brigades, and some other parts of broken Regiments, to move over to the West side of Hackensack River. A considerable Quantity of Stores and some Artillery have fallen into their Hands. We have no Account of their movements this Morning, but as this Country is almost a dead Flat, we have not an Intrenching Tool, and not above 3000 Men, and they much broken and dispirited, not only with our ill success, but the Loss of their Tents and Baggage; I have resolved to avoid any Attack, tho' by so doing I must leave a very fine Country open to their Ravages, or a plentiful Store House, from which they will draw voluntary Supplies.

Your favor of the 19th. is just some to Hand. I approve of your Step with respect to the Rhode Island Officers, as I am unacquainted with their Merits, I was obliged to leave the Determination of the matter much to Genl. Greene, hoping I confess, that he would make an Arrangement acceptable to his Countrymen; however, I am well satisfied with what you have done and must leave it upon that footing.

With respect to your Situation, I am very much at a Loss what now to determine, there is such a Change of Circumstances since the date of your Letter, as seems to call for a Change of Measures. Your Post undoubtedly will answer some important Purposes; but whether so many or so great as your Removal, is well worthy of Consideration. You observe, it prevents a fine fertile Country affording them supplies, but now

they have one much more so and more contiguous. They have already traversed a part of that Country leaving little behind them, is it probable they will return, if not the distance must be too great in Winter time, to render it effectually serviceable. Upon the whole therefore, I am of Opinion and the Gentlemen about me concur in it, that the publick Interest requires your coming over to this side, with the Continental Troops, leaving Fellows's and Wadsworth's Brigades, to take care of the Stores during their Short stay, at the Expiration of which I suppose they will set out home.[68]

My reasons for this measure and which I think must have weight with you, are, that the Enemy are evidently changing the Seat of War to this side of the North River; that this Country therefore, will expect the Continental Army to give what support they can and failing in this, will cease to depend upon or support a force from which no Protection is given to them. It is therefore of the utmost Importance, that at least an Appearance of Force should be made, to keep this Province in the Connection with the others, if that should not continue, it is much to be feared, that its Influence on Pennsylvania would be very considerable, and more and more endanger our publick Interest. Unless therefore some new event should occur, or some more cogent reason present itself, I would have you move over by the easiest and best Passage. I am sensible your Numbers will not be large and that perhaps it may not be agreeable to the Troops: as to the first, report will exaggerate them and preserve an Appearance of an Army, which will at least have an effect to encourage the disponding here; and as to the other, you will doubtless represent to them, that in duty and

[68] Lee, in a letter dated November 19, stated at length his objections to removing from North Castle, N. Y. This letter is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed by Sparks in *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 306.

gratitude, their Service is due, wherever the Enemy make the greatest Impression, or seem to intend so to do.

The Stores at North Castle, Croton Bridge and Kings Ferry, are to be removed to Peeks Kiln, so as to be under Genl. Heath's Eye, this we hope [there] will [be] Time and Means to do.

Colo. Puttnam who has been surveying the Country, thinks the Bridge at Croton River a very important Place and that Troops would be necessary there, you will please to regard it accordingly, by leaving or ordering one Regiment there.[69] I am, etc.[70]

[69] Reed on this date (November 21) wrote a private letter to Lee and sent it with this one of Washington's. "The letter you will receive with this contains my sentiments with respect to your present situation. But besides this I have some additional reasons for wishing most earnestly to have you where the principal scene of action is laid." This injudicious and unconscious conceit on Reed's part was productive of trouble for Washington. Lee's colossal egotism and vanity had already been vastly nurtured by the unmerited praise and adulation he had received from the first moment of his joining the Continental Army. It was partially the colonial habit of mind to exaggerate the merit and skill of all British military men and partially the deliberate purpose of a political faction opposed to Washington. Lee, separated from the main army, in something of an independent station was already developing his purpose of securing an independent command, with the ultimate hope of superseding Washington. His thought was that only a few more misfortunes were needed and Washington would be disgraced. To prevent these misfortunes or to aid Washington in any way was not part of Lee's plan. His delay in marching to reenforce Washington was purposeful. If the Commander in Chief's troops deserted him, by reason of the expiration of their enlistments, or if the British scattered the small force, Lee's army would be the most respectable body of troops left and the question of command would inevitably arise. Reed, as Adjutant General of the Continental Army, now assures him that Washington's signed letter (which is in Reed's writing) is approved by Reed; he then continues: "I do not mean to flatter or praise you at the expense of any other, but I confess I do think it is entirely owing to you that this army, and the liberties of America, so far as they are dependent on it, are not totally cut off. You have decision, a quality often wanted in minds otherwise valuable, and I ascribe to this our escape from York Island, from Kingsbridge, and the Plains, and have no doubt had you been here the garrison of Mount Washington would now have composed part of this army. . . . Every gentleman of the family, the officers and soldiers generally, have a confidence in you—the enemy constantly inquire where you are, and seem to be less confident when you are present." Continuing, he attributed the loss of Fort Washington to the state of suspense in which Washington was thrown by the advice of General Greene. "Oh! General, an indecisive mind is one of the greatest misfortunes that can befall an army; how often have I lamented it this campaign. All circumstances considered, we are in a very awful and alarming situation—one that requires the utmost wisdom and firmness of mind. As soon as the season will admit, I think yourself and some others should go to Congress and form the plan of the new army, point out their defects to them, and it may possibly prevail on them to lend their whole attention to this great

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Aquackinack Bridge, November 21, 1776.

Sir: I have this Moment arrived at this Place with Genl. Beall's and Genl. Heard's Brigades from Maryland and Jersey,

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subject, even to the exclusion of every other. . . . I must conclude with my clear and explicit opinion that your presence is of the last importance."

Such a letter to a megalomaniac could only be harmful, and it is as much of a revelation of Reed's state of mind as Lee's reply reveals his.

Lee replied (November 24): "Lament with you that fatal indecision of mind which in war is a much greater disqualification than stupidity, or even want of personal courage; accident may put a decisive blunderer in the right, but eternal defeat and miscarriage must attend the man of the best parts if cursed with indecision." Lee then speaks largely of attacking Maj. Robert Rogers's corps, and continues: ". . . I only wait myself for this business of Rogers and company being over. I shall then fly to you; for to confess a truth, I really think our chief will do better with me than without me." This letter was received at headquarters when Reed was absent at Burlington, and was opened by Washington under the belief that it was of a public nature. This chance could not but leave an unpleasant impression on the mind of the General, who sent the letter to Reed, and without a word of reproach explained the circumstances that had made him see what "neither inclination nor intention would have prompted me to." In March, 1777, Reed undertook to explain the matter, saying that his own letter to Lee had "led to expressions and an answer which must have been disapproved by you, and which I was far from expecting." (See Washington's letter to Reed, June 14, 1777, *post.*)

Lee had already written to Reed (November 21) that: "Withdrawing our troops from hence would be attended with some very serious consequences, which at present would be tedious to enumerate." But he did order Heath to send 2,000 men to cross the river, an order which Heath very properly declined to obey, pleading the positive instructions given him by Washington. The resulting correspondence still further explains Lee: "By your mode of reasoning," retorted Lee, "the General's injunctions are so binding that not a tittle must be broke through for the salvation of the General and the army. (See Lee's letter to Heath, Nov. 23, 1776.) To this Heath replied: "Be my mode of reasoning as it may, I conceive it my duty to obey my instructions. . . . The least recommendation from him [Washington], to march my division or any part of them, over the river, should have been instantly obeyed, without waiting for a positive order. . . . I shall strictly abide by them [his instructions] until they are countermanded in such manner, as will justify a deviation from them, to him who instructed me, and to the world." (See Heath's letter to Lee, Nov. 24, 1776.) "I sent Heath orders to transport two thousand men across the river . . . but that great man (as I might have expected) intrenched himself behind the letter of his instructions, and refused to part with a single file, tho' I undertook to replace 'em with a part of my own." (See Lee's letter to Washington, Nov. 24, 1776.) Washington informed Heath on the 25th that he never meant to take troops from Heath's division. Lee's letter to Heath of the 26th should be read, and also Heath's *Memoirs,* under date Nov. 30, 1776.

[70] The draft is in the writing of Joseph Reed. He had written this phrase, "this we hope you will have Time and Means to do." The changes made by Washington are bracketed.

and part of General Ewing's[71] from Pennsylvania; Three other Regiments, left to guard the Passes upon Hackensack River, and to serve as covering Parties, are expected up this Evening. After the unfortunate Loss of Fort Washington, it was determined to evacuate Fort Lee, in a great Measure; as it was in a Manner useless in obstructing the Passage of the North River, without the assistance of Fort Washington. The Ammunition and some other Stores were accordingly removed; but, before we could effect our purpose, the Enemy landed yesterday Morning, in very considerable numbers, about Six Miles above the Fort; Their intent evidently was to form a line across, from the place of their landing to Hackensack Bridge, and thereby hem in the whole Garrison between the North and Hackensack Rivers. However, we were lucky enough to gain the Bridge before them; by which means we saved all our men, but were obliged to leave some hundred Barrels of Flour, most of our Cannon, and a considerable parcel of Tents and Baggage. Finding we were in the same danger of being pent up between Hackensack and Passaic Rivers, that we had been between the North and Hackensack; and also finding the Country, from its levelness and openess, unfit for making a stand; it was determined to draw the whole of our Force over this side of the River, where we can watch the operations of the Enemy, without danger of their surrounding us, or making a Lodgement in our Rear. But, as our numbers are still very inadequate to that of the Enemy, I imagine I shall be obliged to fall down toward Brunswick, and form a juntion with the Troops, already in that Quarter, under the Command of Lord Stirling. As the term of the Inlistment of the flying Camp, belonging to Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, is near expiring; it will

[71] Ford notes the confusion in Brig. Gen. James Ewing's name by different historians: Marshall spells it Irvine; Wilkinson, Irvin; Botta, Irwin; and Gordon, Erwing.

occasion so great a diminution of my Army, that I submit it to your judgment, whether it would not be proper for you to call together such a Number of Militia, as, in Conjunction with the Troops I shall have left, will serve to cover the Country and stop the Progress of the Enemy, if they should still attempt to penetrate. If the weather continues favorable, I am apprehensive they will attempt to make amends for the Slowness of their Operations the begining of the Campaign. I have the honor to be, etc.[72]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New Ark, November 23, 1776.

Sir: I have not yet heard that any provision is making to supply the place of the Troops composing the Flying Camp, whose departure is now at hand. The situation of our Affairs is truly critical and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part. From the movements of the Enemy and the information we have received, they certainly will make a push to possess themselves of this part of the Jerseys. In order that you may be fully apprized of our Weakness and of the necessity there is of our obtaining early Succours, I have by the advice of the General Officers here, directed Genl. Mifflin to wait on you. he is intimately acquainted with our Circumstances and will represent them [make a] better than my hurried state will allow [representation of It, than I possibly can, hurried as I am][73] I have wrote to Genl. Lee [and Ordered him] to come over,

[72] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[73] An abstract of returns, showing the strength of the army at or near Newark to be 5,410, accompanied this letter. It is in the writing of Adjt. Gen. Joseph Reed. Mifflin was admitted to an audience with Congress, sitting as a committee of the whole, on November 25. In a letter to Washington he reported the results. He represented the state of the army and "went as far in my Relation" as the sensibility of Congress "and *my own Delicacy* would justify." The resultant resolves will be found in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* of Nov. 25, 26, and 30, 1776. Mifflin's letter, dated Nov. 26, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

with the Continental Regiments immediately under his command; those with Genl. Heath I have ordered to secure the passes thro' the Highlands; I have also wrote to Govr. Livingston requesting of him such aid as may be in his power, and would submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether application should not be made for part of the Pennsylvania Militia to step forth at this pressing time.

Before I conclude, I would mention if an Early and immediate Supply of money could be [immediately] sent to [the paymaster] Mr. Dalham[74] to pay the Flying Camp Troops, it might have [several valuable consequences; The flying Camp men would be paid and return satisfied and the public probably would save something from their pay Rolls being made out here] a happy effect. They would subsist themselves comfortably on their return; provide many necessaries of which they are in great want, and more over, It might be the means of inducing many after seeing Their friends to engage again.

I expected on coming here to have met with many of the Militia, but find from inquiry that there are not more than from four to five Hundred in the different posts. I have the honor, etc.[75]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, New Ark, November 23, 1776.

Sir: The Critical Situation of our affairs and the movements of the Enemy make some further and immediate exertions absolutely necessary. In order that you may have the fullest Representation and form a perfect Idea of what is now necessary,

[74] Richard Dallam, deputy paymaster general of the Flying Camp.

[75] Both the draft and the letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The parts in brackets show the draft as first composed; these were omitted in the letter sent. A comparison of the draft with the letter sent has value as a study of the secretarial work at headquarters.

I have desired Col. Reed to wait on you, and must refer you to him for particulars. I am etc.

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

New Ark, November 24, 1776.

Dear Sir: I wrote you this morning of the probability, that some of your letters to me, had fallen, with the mail, into the Enemy's hands; my apprehensions on that head, have been since confirmed, by direct Intelligence from their Camp, I am informed that a letter from you, is confidently said to have come to their hands, and that measures are taking to intercept your march: To prevent them from effecting this object, I have judged it proper to acquaint you, of this accident, and of their design; at the same time, I must request, that you will take every precaution, to come by a safe and secure route. I am told, by those who have an intimate Knowledge of the Country, that after you leave Haverstraw, the western road by Kakiate will be proper for you to take; But I will not undertake to prescribe any one in particular, only observing, that you will by all means, keep between the Enemy and the Mountains.

Before I conclude, I would wish you to leave under the care of Genl. Heath, the two twelve pounders, on travelling carriages; they will be safe with him at Peek's Kill. The Brass twenty four, I would have you bring, provided, it can be done, without great inconvenience.

I need not urge the necessity of your gaining Intelligence of the Enemy's situation, in the course of your march, I will be silent on that head, nor need I mention the propriety of your sending frequent expresses, to advise of your approaches. Hoping and trusting that your arrival will be safe and happy, I am etc.

P. S. The expresses should come by the western road, otherwise they may fall in with the Enemy. Inclosed you will

receive a copy of sundry Resolves of Congress, which you will publish in Orders.[76]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

New Ark, November 24, 1776.

Dear Sir: By the negligent and infamous conduct of the Post rider, the Eastern Mail of Friday was brought to Hackensack and there stopped to fall into the hands of the Enemy. Of this event, I have thought it proper to give you the earliest notice, supposing the Mail may have contained some Letters from you of a public nature, that you may guard against any advantages the Enemy may expect to derive from this accident.

From your Letter to Colo. Reed, you seem to have mistaken my views intirely, in ordering Troops from Genl. Heath to cross Hudson's River to this side. The importance of the posts and passes thro' the High Lands, is so infinitely great, that I never thought there should be the least possible risk of loosing 'em. Colo. Reed's second Letter, will have sufficiently explained my intention upon this Subject, and pointed out to you, that it was your division I want to have over. As the Enemy have possessed themselves of the usual route by Dobb's Ferry and Hackensack, it will be necessary that you should be careful in choosing some back way, in which you and your Troops may come secure. I doubt not, but they will take measures to intercept you and therefore am induced to request your caution; I also wish you to send me frequent expresses on your march, that I may know how to direct it and how to provide for the same. I am &c.[77]

[76] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson and Tench Tilghman.

[77] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The first paragraph of this letter to Lee was also sent (November 24) as a letter to Heath. It is printed in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* (Heath, Winthrop, Warren papers), Fifth Series, vol. 4.

Ford prints the text somewhat differently and adds the following: "P. S. I have received your favor of the 20th and feel with you the distresses of the army for want of necessary cloathing and covering. I have pointed this out to Congress several

To COLONEL DAVID FORMAN[78]

Head Quarters at New Ark, November 24, 1776.

Sir: Having received Information, that there is danger of an Insurrection of Tories in the County of Monmouth, and it being highly necessary that the most speedy check should be given to a measure of so pernicious a Tendency; you are hereby ordered to march, with the Regiment under your Command, into the said County of Monmouth, and on your arrival there, you are authorized to apprehend all such persons, as from good Information appear to be concerned in any plot or design against the Liberty or Safety of the United States. And you are further authorized, immediately to attack any Body of Men whom you may find actually assembled or in Arms for the purpose aforesaid; and if you should find their numbers Superior to your Force, you have full Authority to call in and take the command of such a Number of Militia of the State of New Jersey, as you may judge sufficient. I would recommend to you to be cautious in proceeding against any, but such as you have the fullest Grounds of Suspicion, and not suffer your men to give the least Molestation to the property of any in the Course of your march. If you find any Stock of Cattle or Provision that you may judge in danger of falling into the Hands of the Enemy, you are first to desire the Inhabitants to remove them, and upon their refusal, you are to have it done yourself, giving the Owner's Certificates of the Quantity, that they may, if they please, call upon the Quarter Master or Commissary General for pay.[79]

times. How to remedy it, I know not. From the number of prizes taken at the eastward, I should suppose the troops from thence could have been much better provided with necessaries than from the more southern States, where they have not the same advantages of an open navigation." He does not state his source.

[78] Of a New Jersey State regiment. He was colonel of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments from January, 1777, to July, 1778, and afterwards brigadier general of New Jersey Militia.

[79] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To COLONEL SAMUEL MILES

Head Quarters, November 25, 1776.

Sir: I lately had the pleasure of a letter from you, but I am unable to answer it, as particularly as I could wish, for want of the letter itself, having sent it forward among other Papers. From the best of my Recollection, you mention, that, you had reason to beleive that an Exchange might be procured of John Foxchaft Esqr. for yourself and of Mr Dashwood for Colo. Piper,[80] and another Gentleman, whose name I do not remember, for Lieut. De Courcy.[81] If you can obtain Genl. Howe's Assent to these several Exchanges, I shall on my part most readily comply; but as the Gentlemen, you have mentioned, are not in the Military Line, the proposal cannot with propriety go from me, as by the Terms of our Cartel, Officers of equal Rank are only to be proposed for each other: But Genl. Howe has dispensed with this Rule in one Instance, by giving up Brigadier Genl. Lord Stirling, for Govr. Brown, tho' not belonging to the Army, and if he pleases again to accept of Gentlemen in the Civil Department, for those in the Military, I, as I said before, shall have no Objection.

I have in a Letter to Colo. Atlee, taken notice of a joint Letter from yourself and him, respecting the miserable State of our prisoners in New York, for want of Cloaths and Necessaries, I have wrote to Congress on the Subject, recommending it to them, to procure a proper Credit in New York for their Supply, but I have not yet received an Answer from them.[82] I am &c.

[80] Col. John Piper, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

[81] Lieut. Edward De Courcy, of Veazey's Independent Maryland company. He had been taken prisoner at Long Island, N. Y., and was not exchanged until September, 1777.

[82] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

On November 26, Robert Hanson Harrison, by direction of Washington, wrote to General Schuyler, forwarding resolves of Congress that the Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops in the northern army immediately join the main army under Washington.

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

New Ark, November 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: I last night received the favour of your Letter of the 25th. My former Letters were so full and explicit, as to the Necessity of your Marching, as early as possible, that it is unnecessary to add more on that Head. I confess I expected you would have been sooner in motion. The force here, when joined by yours, will not be adequate to any great opposition; at present it is weak, and it has been more owing to the badness of the weather, that the Enemy's progress has been checked, than any resistance we could make. They are now pushing this way, part of 'em have passed the Passaic. Their plan is not entirely unfolded, but I shall not be surprized, if Philadelphia should turn out the object of their Movement. The distress of the Troops, for want of Cloaths, I feel much, but what can I do? Having formed an enterprize against Roger's &c I wish you may have succeeded. I am etc.[83]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

New Ark, November 27, 1776.

Sir: I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 21st and 24th with their several Inclosures. The Execution of the Resolves has been and will be attended to, as far as in my power. I have wrote to Genl. Schuyler to send down, as early as possible, the Troops in the Northern department, from this and the State of Pennsylvania. The proposition for exchanging Mr. Franklin[84] for Genl.

Brunswick, N. J., was given as the probable junction point, but the officers were to keep informed of the position of the enemy and arrange their march accordingly. Sparks states that seven regiments were thus dispatched, four of which joined General Lee in their progress, and the other three marched by a more interior route till they reached the main army on the Delaware.

[83] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[84] Gov. William Franklin.

Thompson,[85] I shall submit to Genl. Howe, as soon as circumstances will allow me.

I have nothing in particular to advise you of, respecting the Enemy, more than that they are advancing this way. Part of them have passed the Passaick, and I suppose the main body that they have on this side the North River, would have done the same before now, as they are coming on, had their progress not been retarded by the weather, which has been rainy for several days past. I have scouts and Detachments constantly out to harrass them and watch their Motions and to gain, if possible, intelligence of their designs.

Colo Miles, who has been permitted to go to Philadelphia for a few days by General Howe, will deliver you this, and inform you of the distresses of our prisoners and the necessity of effecting their exchange, as far as we have Prisoners to give in return.

By a Letter from the Board of War on the subject of an exchange, they mention that several of the Prisoners in our hands have inlisted. It is a measure that I think that cannot be justified [tho' the precedent is furnished on the side of the Enemy, nor do I conceive it good in point of policy] But as it has been done, I shall leave it with Congress to order them to be returned or not, as they shall judge fit. I have the honor etc.[86]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Brunswic, November 29, 1776.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 26th. overtook me a few Miles from this place where I arrived this day at Noon.[87] The Enemy gave

[85] Col. William Thompson, of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.

[86] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the letter sent has the additional phrase in brackets above and varies in verbal particulars from the draft.

[87] The retreat through the Jerseys began with the evacuation of Newark, which Washington left on November 28.

us not the least Interruption upon our March. I am glad to hear that the Stores that were at Tapan and Slotts Landing are all got safely up; I hope you will have the same good Luck with the Flour.

I approve of the Steps you have taken to keep the Tories, in the Neighbourhood of your post, in Order, and also of your Offers of Assistance to the State of New York in obstructing the Passage of the North River above Fort Constitution, it is an Object of so much Consideration, that I think too much Attention cannot be paid to it.

I hope you will be able to prevail upon Scotts Brigade[88] to remain with you some little time beyond their Engagement, if the recruiting Service goes on with tolerable Success, their Numbers will soon be replaced by that Means. I am led to expect considerable Reinforcements from Pennsylvania and this State, I shall be in want of them, as the Time of the Flying Camp from Jersey and Maryland expires tomorrow and I fear few will be induced to stay longer. If the Reinforcements are equal to my Expectations, I hope I shall at least be able to prevent a further penetration of the Enemy who have already [mutilated] in this part of the Country.

Mr. Palfrey has orders to advance to the Colonels, who are appointed and have agreed to remain in the Service, such Sums of Money as are necessary for the Bounties of the new inlisted Men. I am, etc.[89] [MS. H. S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Brunswick, November 29, 1776.

Dear Sir: I this morning received your favor of the 26th. Your letters to Governor Trumbull for a Reinforcement of

[88] Brig. Gen. John Morin Scott's New York Militia.
[89] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Militia were exceedingly proper, tho' I doubt much whether they can be obtained, as they have suffered many inconveniences in the course of the present campaign; nor was the application to Mr. Bowdoin for Cloaths &c. less necessary. I am happy to hear the men discover so much readiness to engage in the Service and that there may be no Objection for want of Bounty Money, I have directed the Paymaster General to advance it to such of the Colonels as apply, and who are appointed and agreed to continue. I imagine you have settled with the Commissary a plan for being supplied with provisions on your march, that will be highly expedient; I will use my exertions. I am &c.[90]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Head Quarters, Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

Sir: I have the pleasure and Honor of acknowledging the Receipt of yours of the 27th.[91] General Williamson gives me small Encouragement to hope for much Assistance from the Militia of this State; indeed some of the Counties, if they were willing, are intimidated from coming in, as the Enemy have possession of the Country. I hope the four Regiments, to be raised to serve till the first of April, will be quickly full, as more dependance is to be put upon them, than Common Militia. The time of General Heard's Brigade of flying Camp Men for this State, and that of Genl. Beall's from Maryland, expires this day; so that the army will by that means, suffer a very considerable diminution. But what is still worse, altho' most of the

[90] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[91] Governor Livingston had written (November 27): "I can easily form some Idea of the Difficulties under which you labour and particularly of one for which the public can make no allowances because your Prudence and Fidelity to the Cause will not suffer you to reveal it to the public, an instance of Magnanimity superior perhaps to any that can be shewn in Battle. But depend upon it, my dear Sir, the impartial World will do you ample Justice before Long. May God support you under that Fatigue both of Body and Mind to which you must be constantly exposed." Livingston's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

Pennsylvanians are inlisted till the first of January, I am informed that they are deserting in great numbers; I therefore intreat, that you would without loss of time, give orders to the officers of Militia on the Roads and the Ferries over Delaware, to take up and secure every Soldier that has not a regular discharge or Pass. In order to effect this, proper guards should be immediately posted.

I thank you most sincerely for your feelings for me at this time and upon this occasion; I will not however despair; but look forward with a hope that such Reinforcements will yet arrive to my assistance, as will enable me to prevent our common Enemy from making much further Progress. I am, etc.[92]

To COLONEL JOSEPH REED

Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

Dear Sir: The inclosed was put into my hands by an Express from the White Plains. Having no Idea of its being a Private Letter, much less suspecting the tendency of the correspondence, I opened it, as I had done all other Letters to you, from the same place and Peekskill, upon the business of your Office, as I conceived and found them to be.

This, as it is the truth, must be my excuse for seeing the contents of a Letter, which neither inclination or intention would have prompted me to.

I thank you for the trouble and fatigue you have undergone in your Journey to Burlington, and sincerely wish that your labours may be crowned with the desired success. My best Respects to Mrs. Reed. I am, Dear Sir, etc.

P. S. The petition referred to I keep.[93]

[92] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[93] See note to Washington's letter to Lee, Nov. 21, 1776, *ante*. Lee's letter of November 24, as printed in Reed's *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (vol. 1, p. 257), contains no mention of a petition or any other inclosure.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

Sir: I have been honored with your favor of the 26th with its Inclosures, by which I perceive the measures that have been adopted for forwarding a reinforcement of Militia. Their arrival is much to be wished, the situation of our Affairs being truly alarming and such as demands the earliest aids. As Genl. Mifflin's presence may have a happy influence upon the disposition and temper of many of the Associators, I shall [attempt to do without him as well as I can, 'till his return] not direct his return so long as he can be done without, and till it becomes indispensibly necessary.[94]

On Thursday morning, I left New Ark and arrived here yesterday with the Troops that were there. It was the opinion of all the Generals who were with me, that a retreat to this Place was requisite and founded on necessity, as our force was by no means sufficient to make a stand against the Enemy, much superior in number, with the least probability of success, and whose advanced Guards were entering [when] the Town by the time our Rear [came] got out. It was the wish of all to have remained there longer and to have halted before we came thus far, but upon due consideration of our Strength, the circumstances attending the inlistment of a great part of our little force, and the frequent advices, that the Enemy were embarking or about to embark another detachment for Staten Island, with a view of Landing at Amboy to co-operate with this, which seemed to be confirmed by the information of some persons

[94] The Associators, or militia, of Philadelphia City and County; of Bucks, Chester, and Northampton Counties, Pa., were called out for six weeks from the time of joining the Army, but the order was countermanded on November 27 and renewed on December 1. New York directed Brigadier General Scott to continue his brigade in the service for one month, as it had so volunteered, and New Jersey called out its militia on November 26.

who came from the Island, that they were collecting and impressing all the Waggons they could find; It was judged necessary to proceed till we came here, not only to prevent their bringing a force to act upon our Front and Rear, but also that we might be more convenient to oppose any Troops they might land at South Amboy, which many conjectured to be an object they had in view. This conjecture [was not without some reports] too, had probability and some advices to support it.[95]

I hoped we should have met with large and early Succors by this time; but as yet no great number of the Militia of this State has come in, nor have I much reason to expect, [from the accounts I have,] that any considerable aid will be derived from the Counties, which lie beyond this river, and in which the Enemy are. [Indeed] Their situation will prevent it in a great measure from those parts where they are, provided the inclinations of the people were good. Added to this, I have [now] no assurances, that more than a very few of the Troops composing the flying Camp will remain after the time of their engagement is out; so far from it, I am told, that [many] some of General Ewing's brigade, who stand engaged to the 1st of January, are now going away. If those go, whose service expires this day, our force will be reduced to a mere handfull. From intelligence received this morning, one Division of the Enemy was advanced last night as far as Elizabeth Town, and that some of their Quartermasters had proceeded [as far as Spank Town] about four or five miles on this side, to provide Barns for their accommodation. Other accounts say another division, composed of Hessians, are on the road thro Springfield and are reported to have reached that place last night. I

[95] Sparks refers to the *Narrative of Sir William Howe Before a Committee of the House of Commons* (London: 1780) and Almon's *Parliamentary Register* (vol. 11, pp. 361, 371) as authority for the statement that Howe did not intend to push his force across the Delaware in this campaign.

do not know how far their views extend, but I doubt not, [that] they mean to push every advantage resulting from the small number and State of our Troops. I early began to forward part of the Stores from this place towards Philadelphia. Many are gone, the rest we are removing, and hope to secure. I am, &c.

P. S. I have wrote to Govenr. Livingston who is exerting himself to throw in every assistance and to have guards placed at the ferries to prevent the return of the soldiers who are not discharged.[96]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Brunswick, November 30, 1776.

Gentn: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 18th. 19th and 23d Instant, which, from the unsettled situation of our affairs, I have not been able to answer before.

That of the 18th incloses a list of Stores taken in the Hancock and Adams Continental Ship and carried into Dartmouth in New England, with a Resolve of Congress to deliver the Muskets, Powder, Lead and Flints to my order, as the other Articles of the Cargo will be full as useful to the Army, as those included in the Resolve, I would advise, that you give directions to have the whole Cargo removed from Dartmouth to some secure place in the Neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and there deposited till call'd for.[97] It is by no means proper, that so great a Quantity of Military Stores should be lodged with the Army, especially at present, as we know not today, where we shall be obliged to remove tomorrow, and that will in all probability

[96] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The bracketed portions, which are in the draft, are not in the letter sent, and the draft ends with "the small number and State of our Troops."

[97] The *Hancock and Adams* was bringing a cargo of military stores from France for the use of the continent when seized by the Rhode Island privateer *Gamecock*.

be the case, while the Enemy continue with a light Army on this Side the North River.

In Answer to that part of yours of the 19th. in which you ask my advice, as to the propriety of inlisting prisoners of War, I would just observe, that in my opinion, it is neither consistent with the Rules of War, nor politic, nor can I think that because our Enemies have committed an unjustifiable action by inticing and in some instances intimidating our men into their service, we ought to follow their Example. Before I had the honor of yours on this subject, I had determined to remonstrate to Genl Howe on this Head; as to those few who have already inlisted, I would not have them again withdrawn and sent in, because they might be subjected to punishment, but I would have the practice discontinued in future. If you will revert to the capitulation of St. Johns and Chambleé you will find an express stipulation against inlisting the prisoners taken there. I remarked that the Inlistment of Prisoners was not a Politic Step; my Reason is this, that in time of Danger I have always observed such persons most backward, for fear I suppose of falling into the Hands of their former Masters, from whom they expect to receive no Mercy, and this fear they are apt to communicate to their Fellow soldiers. They are also most ready to desert, when an Action is expected, hoping by carrying Intelligence, to make their peace.

I met Capt. Hesketh[98] on the Road, and as the situation of his Family did not admit of delay, I permitted him to go immediately to New York, not having the least doubt but General Howe will make a Return of any officer of equal Rank, who shall be required. I have &c.[99]

[98] Capt. Thomas Hesketh, of the Seventh Foot, British Army.

[99] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. It varies from the "Letter Book" copy in minor details of capitalization.

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Brunswick, December 1, 1776.

Dear Sir: The Enemy are advancing, and have got as far as Woodbridge and Amboy, and from information not to be doubted, mean to push to Philadelphia. The force I have with me, is infinitely inferior in Number and such as cannot give or promise the least successful Opposition. It is greatly reduced by the departure of the Maryland flying Camp men and sundry other causes.[1] I must entreat you to hasten your march, as much as possible, or your arrival may be too late to answer any valuable purpose. Your route nor the place to join me I cannot particularize. In these instances you must be governed by Circumstances, and the Intelligence you receive, Let the former be secure. I hope to meet a considerable reinforcement of Pennsylvania Associators; it is said they seem spirited upon this Occasion. I am &c.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Brunswick, December 1, 1776.

Sir: I yesterday had the honor of writing you and to advise of our arrival here. I am now to inform you that the Enemy are still advancing, and that their Van guard had proceeded as far as Bonum, a small Town about four miles this side of Woodbridge, according to my last intelligence. As to their number, reports are various. Some say, they were joined yesterday by a considerable reinforcement from Staten Island, how far this

[1]Ford quotes from a letter from General Greene to Governor Cooke (Dec. 4, 1776): "Two brigades left us at Brunswick, notwithstanding the enemy were within two hours' march and coming on. The loss of these troops at this critical time reduced his Excellency to the necessity to order a retreat again. . . . When we left Brunswick, we had not 3000 men."

fact may be true, I cannot determine, but from every information before, they were between Six and seven thousand strong. I have for some time past, supposed Philadelphia to be the Object of their movement, and have every reason to beleive my Opinion well founded. The advices of sundry persons who have had an Opportunity of mixing and conversing with them on the March, agreeing that such is the report. I have wrote to Governor Livingston upon the Subject, requesting his utmost exertions to forward on every succour in his power. The same I trust will be attended to in Pennsylvania. Without a sufficient number of Men and Arms, their progress cannot be checked, at present our Force is totally inadequate to any attempt.

Several Officers belonging to the Enemy who were Prisoners, have obtained permission to return. I have not yet sent in the names of those belonging to us, that are to be exchanged for them. By a Virginia paper, I perceive that Capt. Morgan[2] and Lieut. Heath[3] who were taken prisoners at Quebec and now on parole are promoted in the late arrangement of Officers in that State; the former to a Regiment the latter to a Majority: It would be well if they could be released, but being Virginians and not knowing that any Gentlemen, who were taken at the same time are so circumstanced, I have declined claiming their return without the Opinion of Congress lest I should incur the charge of partiality. I have sent forward Colo. Humpton[4] to collect proper boats and craft at the Ferry for transporting our Troops and it will be of Infinite importance to have every other craft, besides what he takes for the above purpose, secured on

[2] Capt. Daniel Morgan, of the Virginia Rifle Company. He had been taken prisoner at Quebec; was promoted to colonel of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment Nov. 12, 1776.

[3] Lieut. William Heth, of Morgan's company. He was promoted to major of the Eleventh Virginia Regiment Nov. 13, 1776, and became lieutenant colonel and colonel of the Third Virginia Regiment; was captured at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780; remained a prisoner on parole to the end of the war.

[4] Col. Richard Humpton, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

the West side of Delaware, otherwise they may fall into Enemy's hands and facilitate their views. I have &c.

P. S. ½ after 1 o'clock P. M. The Enemy are fast advancing, some of 'em are now in sight. All the Men of the Jersey flying Camp under Genl. Herd being applied to, have refused to continue longer in service.[5]

To GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Brunswick, December 1, 1776.

Dear Sir: I wrote to you yesterday; but, as from every Information of the motions of the Enemy, their intent seems plainly directed thro' this State, and then on to Philadelphia; I cannot help calling on you, in the most urgent Manner, and begging you to fall upon proper means to draw forth the Strength of your province to my support.

The Enemy's advanced Parties were last night at Bonum Town, four Miles on this side of Woodbridge;[6] They are impressing Waggons and Horses, and Collecting Cattle and Sheep; which is a further proof of their intent to march a Considerable distance. Unless my force is speedily augmented, it will be impossible for me to make any stand at this Place, when the Enemy advance; as I have not, including General Williamson's[7] Militia (say 1,000) more than four thousand men. The Militia from the Counties of Morris and Sussex, turn out slowly and reluctantly, whether owing to the want of officers of Spirit to encourage them, or your Summons not being regularly sent to them, I cannot say; but, I have reason to believe, there has

[5] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the last paragraph and the P. S. above are not in the draft, which varies in minor verbal details from the letter sent.

[6] "The defenceless legislature [of New Jersey], with their Governor at their head, wandered from Princeton to Burlington, from Burlington to Pittstown, from Pittstown to Haddonfield, and there, finally, at the utmost verge of the State, dissolved themselves on the 2d of December, leaving each member to look to his own safety, at a moment when the efforts of legislators would be of no avail." (See Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston.*)

[7] Brig. Gen. Matthias Williamson, of the New Jersey Militia.

been a deficiency in both Cases. Designing men have been purposely sent among them, to influence some and intimidate others; and, except Gentlemen of Spirit and Character will appear among them, and rouse them, little can be expected. I wrote to Genl. Williamson last Night, and pressed him to exert himself; but, I have reason to believe, he has not the confidence of the People, as much as could be wished. My Accounts of the Reinforcements, to be expected from Pennsylvania, are very incouraging; but, from the Distance and Necessary delays attending a Sudden march, I cannot look for them under a Week or ten days; in which time the Enemy will have reached the Delaware, at least, if not opposed by more than my present Numbers. Genl Lee is on his march down to join me; but, if the Enemy should throw in a body of men between us, he will be obliged to make a considerable circuit, to avoid them. The Boats and Craft, all along the Delaware side, should be secured; particularly the Durham Boats used for the Transportation of produce down the River. Parties should be sent to all the landings to have them removed to the other side, hawled up, and put under proper Guards. One such Boat would transport a Regiment of Men. I have &c.[8]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

½ after 7 P. M., December 1, 1776.

Sir: In a little time after I wrote you this Evening, the Enemy appeared in several parties on the Heights opposite Brunswic[9] and were advancing in a large body towards the crossing

[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[9] Ford notes that on November 30 the Council of Safety of Philadelphia published a notice warning all who would wish to avoid the "insults and oppressions of a licentious soldiery" should be prepared to leave the city on a short warning. The news that arrived on December 2, placing Howe's army at Brunswick, N. J., and on the road to Philadelphia, produced a panic, and for days after the roads were crowded with wagons, and all was hurry and confusion in the city. Shops were closed, schools "broke up," and the inhabitants engaged in providing for their own safety or for the defense of the city.

place. We had a smart canonade whilst we were parading our Men but without any or but little loss on either side. It being impossible to oppose them with our present force with the least prospect of success, we shall retreat to the West side of Delaware and have advanced about Eight miles where it is hoped we shall meet a reinforcement sufficient to check their progress. I have sent Colo. Humpton forward to collect the necessary boats for our transportation and conceive it proper that the Militia from Pennsylvania should be ordered towards Trenton, that they may be ready to Join us and act as occasion may require. I am, etc.

P. S. I wish my Letters of yesterday may arrive safe, being informed that the return Express who had 'em was idling his time and shewing 'em on the Road.[10]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Brunswick, December 1, 1776.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the Honor of your favor of the 11th Ulto. and to thank you for your polite return of my Letter to Mrs. Washington.

Agreeing to the Proposition you were pleased to make for the exchange of such Prisoners as can be conveniently collected. The Gentlemen whose names are specified in the inclosed List have permission to proceed immediately to New York. Others, as soon as they arrive, will be allowed the same indulgence. At a proper season I shall require a return of the like number and of equal rank.

Having directions from Congress to propose an Exchange of Governor Franklin for Brigadier General Thompson, I would take the Liberty to submit the matter to your determination, and to request your Answer upon the Subject.

[10] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Besides the Persons included in the inclosed List, Captain Hesketh of the 7th Regiment, his Lady, 3 Children and two Servant maids were permitted to go in a few days ago. I am Sir, etc.[11]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Princeton, December 2, 1776.

Sir: I arrived here this morning with our Troops between Eight and Nine O'Clock, when I received the Honor of your Letter of the 1st with its inclosures. When the Enemy first landed on this side the North River, I apprehended that they meant to make a push this way, and knowing that the force which I had, was not sufficient to oppose 'em, I wrote to Genl. Lee to cross with the Several Continental Regiments in his Division, and hoped he would have arrived before now; by some means or other he has been delayed. I suppose he has passed the River, as his Letter of the 26th ulto. mentioned that he had marched a Brigade the day before, and should follow the next himself.[12] The remainder of the Troops, I conceived necessary to guard the several passes thro' the Highlands, nor do I think they can be called from thence. Their number is very small, being reduced to very few by the departure of the Troops who stood engaged till the 30th ulto. I understand there are now at Bristol several prisoners. As their exchange at this time cannot be effected with propriety, I think it will be necessary under the present situation of Affairs, to have 'em removed immediately to some more interior place upon their paroles. If they remain, they may be of infinite disadvantage.[13] I have &c.

[11] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and Tench Tilghman.

[12] General Heath wrote to Washington (December 2) "General Lee is this day beginning to pass the River with his Division." Heath's letter is in the *Washington Papers.*

[13] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. On the address sheet is the following, in the writing of Benjamin Harrison: "To Mr. Peters. Sir: Dispatch an Express immediately to have the prisoners at Bristol Removed. B. H."

To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS DIETRICH, BARON DE OTTENDORFF[14]

December 2, 1776.

The Congress having been pleased to give you a Commission of a Captain in the Army of the United States, you are hereby Authorized and Impowered to Inlist a body of able bodied Men, especially Germans to be under such regulations as the Congress shall hereafter Direct, for the Term of Three years, and on the Conditions and pay of the last Establishment.[15]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, December 3, 1776.

Sir: The Letter which accompanies this, was designed to have been sent by the Gentlemen whose names are in the List it incloses; but by some Accident or delay of my messenger they had left Brunswick before it reached them. Since that time I have been informed, that a Number of others both Officers and Soldiers are coming on from the State of Pennsylvania. I have directed Col. Moylan to meet, and to give them a safe conduct to your out Posts, he will transmit you a List of their number, names and Ranks, and I shall as I mentioned in my former Letter, soon make a Requisition of the like number of equal Rank. I am &ca.[16]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 3, 1776.

Sir: I arrived here myself yesterday morning with the Main body of the Army, having left Lord Stirling with two Brigades

[14] Ottendorff was a brevet captain by a commission dated November 8. He raised a battalion of three companies of Germans and was commissioned a major thereof on December 5. His battalion was merged with Armand's Partizan Corps in October, 1780.

[15] The signed letter, in the writing of John Fitzgerald, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[16] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

at Princeton and that neighbourhood to watch the Motions of the Enemy and give notice of their approach. I am informed that they had not entered Brunswick yesterday morning at 9 O'Clock, but were on the opposite side of the Raritan. Immediately on my arrival here, I ordered the Removal of all the Military and other Stores and Baggage over the Delaware, a great Quantity are already got over, and as soon as the Boats come up from Philadelphia, we shall load them, by which Means I hope to have every thing secured this Night and to morrow if we are not disturbed. After being disencumbered of my Baggage and Stores, my future Situation will depend intirely upon Circumstances. I have not heard a Word from General Lee, since the 26th last month, [which surprises me not a little, as I have dispatched daily Expresses to him, desiring to know when I might look for him. This makes me fearful that my Letters have not reached him.]

I am informed by report that Genl. St. Clair has joined him with three or four Regiments from the Northward, to know the Truth of this, and also when I may expect him and with what Numbers, I have this minute dispatched Colo. Stewart[17] (Genl. Gates's Aid de Camp) to meet Genl. Lee and bring me an Account.[18] I look out earnestly for the Reinforcement from Philadelphia, I am in hopes, if we can draw a good Head of Men together, It will give Spirits to the Militia of this State who have as yet afforded me little or no Assistance, nor can I find they are likely to do much. Genl. Heard just informs me, that a person, on whose Veracity he can depend, has reported to

[17] Maj. Walter Stewart. He was colonel of a Pennsylvania State regiment in June, 1777, which was designated the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment in November, 1777. He was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in July, 1778, and acted as subinspector, Continental Army, up to June, 1783.

[18] Congress seemed to be as much in the dark about General Lee's plans and movements as General Washington, and on December 2 they resolved: "That the Committee for establishing expresses be directed to send Colonel Stewart, or any other officer express to General Lee, to know where and in what situation he and the army with him are." (See *Journals of the Continental Congress.*)

him, that on Sunday last he counted 117 Sail of Ships going out of the Hook. You may depend upon being advised instantly of any further Movement of the Enemy's Army or that of mine. I am, etc.[19]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Trenton, December 3, 1776.

Dear Sir: I was just now favoured with your Letter of the 30th Ulto. Having wrote you fully both Yesterday and to day of my Situation, it is unnecessary for me to add much at this time. You will readily agree that I have sufficient cause for my anxiety and to wish for your arrival as early as possible. In respect to instructions on your Route, you must be governed by Circumstances, this has been the language of all my Letters, since I had Occasion to call for your aid, The sooner you can join me with your division, the sooner the Service will be benefited. As to bringing any of the Troops under Genl. Heath, I cannot consent to it. The posts they are at and the passes thro' the High Lands being of the utmost importance, they must be guarded by good Men. I would have you to give me frequent advices of your approach. Upon proper information in this instance much may depend. I am &c.[20]

To THE BOARD OF WAR

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 4, 1776.

Sir: Yours of the 28th last Month was delivered to me by the Brigadier Le Loche de Fermoy[21] who is now here, but unable to render me that Service; which I dare say from his Character he would, was he better acquainted with our Language.

[19] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The part in brackets was not in the draft as first written, but was added later in the margin.

[20] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[21] Mathieu Alexis de Roche Fermoy. He had been commissioned by Congress a brigadier general on Nov. 5, 1776; resigned Jan. 31, 1778.

I yesterday received a Letter from you without a date, mentioning that the Prisoners from York Town were directed to halt at Newtown for my Orders. On hearing they were there, I sent Colo. Moylan to conduct them, and the Prisoners from Reading who arrived nearly at the same time, over towards Brunswick, and deliver them in. I hope you have not sent Capt. Price,[22] Lt. Peacock[23] and Major Campbell[24] on to this place, as it is highly improper they should see and know the Situation of our Army here and at Princeton; they had better be sent up, under the care of some person to Newtown or that Neighbourhood and there wait the arrival of some large Party, who, I imagine will be soon forward from Lancaster, and go in with them. Lieut. Symes[25] came over to me at Brunswick from Bethlehem without the least guard or Escort, and a Lieutenant of the 7th Regiment went thro' our whole Army, and was at last discovered by a mere accident, he had a pass from the Council of Safety and that was all. Such an irregular Mode, of Suffering prisoners to go in alone must be put a Stop to, or the Enemy will be as well acquainted with our Situation, as we are ourselves. If they are left at liberty to choose their own Rout, they will always take that thro' our Army for reasons too obvious to mention. I am &c.

P. S. I have been obliged to send down a number of our Sick to Philadelphia to make room for the Troops and to remove them out of the way. Be pleased to have some care taken to have them properly accommodated. I should think part of the House of Employment, might be procured for that purpose. I have ordered down an Officer from each Regiment and a

[22] Capt. William Price, of the Twenty-fifth Foot, British Army.

[23] Lieut. George Peacock, of the Sixth Foot, British Army.

[24] Maj. Mungo Campbell, of the Fifty-fifth Foot, British Army.

[25] Lieut. Richard Symes is listed in the *Army List, 1776*, as a captain of the Fifty-second Foot.

Surgeon's Mate, if they can be spared. But I hope they will not want the Assistance of the visiting Physicians of the Hospital. I am &c.[26]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, December 4, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, I received a Letter from Genl. Lee. On the 30th Ulto. he was at Peekskill and expected to pass with his Division two days after. From this intelligence you will readily conclude that he will not be able to afford us any aid for several days. The report of Genl St. Clair's having joined him with three or four Regiments, I believe to be altogether premature, as he mentions nothing of it. It has arisen, as I am informed, from the return of some of the Jersey and Pennsylvania Troops from Ticonderoga, whose time of service is expired. They have reached Pluckemin where I have wrote to have them halted and kept together, if they can be prevailed on, till further orders.

The Inclosed, is a Copy of a Letter which came to hand last night from Major Clark,[27] to which I beg leave to refer you for the Intelligence it contains. The number of the Enemy said to have embarked is supposed to be rather exaggerated. That there has been an embarkation is not to be doubted, it being confirmed thro' various channels. By Colo. Griffin[28] who went from Brunswick on Sunday morning with a Capt. Sims,[29] to

[26] The draft and the letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[27] Major John Clark, jr., of the Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp. Later he was an aide-de-camp to General Greene; captain in the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment and one of the auditors of the Continental Army. He was of much service to Washington during the Brandywine-Germantown campaign and later in collecting secret intelligence. A copy of Clark's letter, dated Nov. 29, 1776, from Tappan, N. Y., is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[28] Col. Samuel Griffin, deputy adjutant general of the Flying Camp. He had been wounded at Harlem Heights, N. Y., in October.

[29] Lieut. Richard Symes. (See note to Washington's letter to the Board of War, Dec. 4, 1776, *ante*.)

pass him by our Guards, and who was detained by Lord Cornwallis till Monday evening [yesterday morning] on account of his situation [of his Army]. the amount of Genl Clinton's force from what he could collect from the officers, was about Six Thousand, as to their destination he could not obtain the least information. By him I also learn, the Enemy were in Brunswic and that some of their advanced parties had proceeded two Miles on this side. The heavy rain that has fallen has probably checked their progress [and the weather that may succeed, may delay their progress, if not] and may prevent their further movement for some time. I have &c.[30]

MEMORANDUM FOR COLONEL RICHARD HUMPTON

December 5, 1776.

To enquire into the situation of the troops under General Lee and let me know when they are, by what rout they March, and what Stages they will make, and other matters which may be necessary to know. Also to enquire into the State of the regiments from Ticonderago where they are, the Situation they are in, and under whose command, whether their term of Service is expired, whether in that case, they will consent to continue awhile longer in Service, a fortnight for instance, and other matters which may be useful to know.

Moreover to enquire what Militia are with Gen. Williamson, belonging to the State of New Jersey, where any other of the militia of the said State are assembled, under what officers, how appointed &ca. In short I wish to know the whole force that is collected, where and what may be expected from them.

[30] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The parts in brackets are in the draft, but not in the letter sent.

The Militia should be encouraged to turn out under proper officers, not in a confused and disorderly manner, and join the Army, or assemble in the vicinity of it, enquire into the articles of provisions &ca. [N.Y.H.S.][31]

To RICHARD DALLAM[32]

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 5, 1776.

Sir: I have yours of this morning from Bristol. As the most Considerable part of the Army is like to be in this Town and its Neighbourhood, I think you better remove the Treasury as near as possible on the pennsylvania Side of the River, when you have fixed upon a House, a proper Guard shall be appointed. It is very inconvenient for officers to go for Money, which is wanted every Moment for one Purpose or other, even as far as Bristol. Inclosed you have a Letter for Govr. Livingston which desire Colo. Griffin to send over to Burlington by a trusty Messenger; if Govr. Livingston should not be at Burlington, he will certainly be at Philada. to which place Colo. Griffin (who lodges at Priestleys) will be pleased to send it. I am, etc.

P. S. Be pleased to forward the inclosed for Colo. Reed also.[33]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, December 5, 1776.

Sir: As nothing but necessity obliged me to retire before the Enemy, and leave so much of the Jerseys unprotected, I conceive it to be my duty, and it corrisponds with my Inclination, to make head against them, so soon as there shall be the least probability of doing it with propriety; that the Country might

[31] The New York Historical Society document is a recent copy.

[32] Deputy paymaster general of the Flying Camp.

[33] This letter is in private hands, having been sold in 1907. It was printed in the *Magazine of American History*, vol. 6, p. 138.

in some Measure be covered, I left two Brigades (consisting of the five Virginia Regiments and that of Delaware, containing in the whole abt. 1200 Men fit for Duty, under the Command of Lord Stirling and Genl. Stephen)[34] at Princeton, till the Baggage and stores could cross the Delaware, or the Troops under their respective Commands forced from that place. I shall now, having removed the greatest part of the above Articles, face about with such Troops as are here fit for Service and March back to Princeton and there govern myself by Circumstances and the movements of General Lee. At any event, the Enemy's progress may be retarded by this Means if they Intend to come on, and the People's fears in some measure quieted if they do not; sorry I am to observe however, that the frequent calls upon the Militia of this State, the want of exertion in the principal Gentlemen of the Country, or a fatal supiness and insensibility of danger, (till it is too late to prevent an evil, that was not only foreseen but foretold) have been the causes of our late disgraces. If the Militia of this State had step'd forth in Season, (and timely notice they had) we might have prevented the Enemy's crossing the Hackensack, although (without some previous notice of the time, and place) it was impossible to have done this at the No. River. We might with equal probability of success, have made a stand at Brunswick on the Rariton; but as both these Rivers were fordable (in a variety of places knee deep only) it required many Men to defend the passes, and these we had not. At Hackensack our force was insufficient, because part was at Elizabeth Town, Amboy and Brunswick, guarding a coast which I thought most exposed to danger; and at Brunswick, because I was disappointed in my expectation of Militia, and because on the

[34] Brig. Gen. Adam Stephen. He had been colonel of the Fourth Virginia Regiment; promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Army Sept. 4, 1776; major general Feb. 19, 1777; dismissed for drunkenness on November 20 of that year.

day of the approach of the Enemy and probably the reason of it, [why the attack was made] the term of the Jersey and Maryland Brigade's Service expired and neither of them would stay an hour longer.

These, among ten thousand other Instances, might be adduced to shew the disadvantages of short Enlistments, and the little dependance upon Militia in times of real danger; but as yesterday cannot be recalled, I will not dwell upon a subject which no doubt has given much uneasiness to Congress, as well as severe pain and mortification to me.

My first wish is, that Congress may be convinced [from experience] of the [indispensable necessity][35] propriety of relying as little as possible upon Militia, and of the necessity of raising a larger standing Army than they have voted, the saving in the Article of Stores, Provisions and in a thousand other things by having nothing to do with Militia, [unless in cases of extraordinary emergency and such as could not be expected in the common course of events,][36] would amply support a large Army which (well officered) would daily be improving instead of [allways][37] continuing a destructive, expensive and disorderly Mob.

I am clearly of opinion, that if 40,000 Men had been kept in constant pay since the first Commencement of Hostilities, and the Militia had been excused doing duty during that Period, the Continent would have saved Money. When I reflect on the losses we have sustain'd for want of good Troops, the certainty of this is placed beyond a doubt in my Mind. In such case the Militia, who have been Harrassed and tired by repeated calls upon them, and Farming, and Manufactures in a Manner suspended would, upon any emergency have run with alacrity to

[35] The phrases in brackets were crossed out by Washington.
[36] This phrase in brackets is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[37] Crossed out by Washington.

Arms, whereas the cry now is, they may as well be ruind one way as another, and with difficulty are obtaind. I mention these things to shew that in my opinion, if any dependance is placed on Militia another year, the Congress will deceive themselves. When danger is a little remov'd from them, they will not turn out at all. When it comes home to them, the well affected, instead of flying to Arms to defend themselves, are busily employed in removing their Family's and Effects, while the disaffected are concerting measures to make their Submission, and spread terror and dismay all around, to induce others to follow the example; daily experience and abundant proofs warrant this Information.

I shall this day reinforce Lord Stirling with 1200 Men, which will make his Numbers about 2400, to morrow I mean to repair to Princeton myself and shall order the Pennsylvania Troops (who are not yet arrivd except part of the German Battalion, and a Company of Light Infantry), on to the same place.

By my last advices the Enemy are still at Brunswick and the Account adds that General Howe was expected at Elizabeth Town with a Reinforcement, to erect the King's Standard and demand a submission of this state. I can only give this as a Report, brot. from the Enemy's Camp by some of the Country People. I have &c.[38]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, December 6, 1776.

Sir: I have not received any Intelligence of the Enemy's movements since my Letter of Yesterday; from every Information they still remain at Brunswick, except some of their parties who are advanced a small distance on this side. to day I shall set

[38] The last paragraph of this letter is missing in the draft. It is supplied from the letter sent, which was copied by Robert Hanson Harrison, and is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. There are a few slight variations of minor value between the letter sent and the draft in Washington's writing as above.

out for Princeton myself, unless something should occur to prevent me, which I do not expect.

By a Letter of the 4th Inst. from a Mr. Caldwell,[39] a Clergyman and a staunch friend to the Cause, and who has fled from Elizabeth Town and taken refuge in the Mountains about Ten Miles from thence, I am informed, that Genl. or Lord Howe was expected in that Town, to publish pardon and peace. His words are, "I have not seen his proclamation, but only can say, he gives 60 days of Grace and Pardons from the Congress down to the Committee. No one man in the Continent is to be denied his Mercy."[40] In the language of this Good Man, the Lord deliver us from his Mercy.

Your Letter of the 3d, by Major Livingston was duly received. Before it came to hand, I had wrote to Genl. Howe about Governor Franklin's exchange, but am not certain whether the Letter could not be recovered. I dispatched a Messenger instantly for that purpose.[41] I am &c.[42]

*To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Trenton, December 7, 1776.

Sir: As your Troops (from Philadelphia) can be better accomodated in this place than at Princeton, where Quarters are

[39] Rev. James Caldwell, chaplain of a New Jersey brigade and Assistant Quartermaster. He was killed by a sentinel in November, 1781.

[40] The proclamation was issued November 30 by Admiral Richard Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe jointly, offering a pardon to all who had opposed the King's authority and who should within 60 days subscribe to a declaration that they would "remain in a peaceable Obedience to His Majesty, and will not take up Arms nor encourage Others to take up arms, in Opposition to His Authority." A photostat of one of the original imprints is in the Library of Congress from a copy in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Joseph Galloway, of Pennsylvania, was one of those who took advantage of this proclamation, and Richard Stockton, of New Jersey, was another. Galloway's conduct is described in the *Narrative of Sir William Howe Before a Committee of the House of Commons* (London: 1780), and Stockton's may be judged from John Witherspoon's letter to his son, David, Mar. 17, 1777, a photograph of which is in the Library of Congress.

[41] On December 3 Congress directed General Washington to postpone the exchange of Governor Franklin for General Thompson.

[42] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

scarce, I would have you remain here till the whole of your Brigade comes up. In the meanwhile, keep me regularly advised of their arrival that I may endeavour to time other matters thereby.

If they are not already properly arranged no time should be lost in doing of it; nor in compleating them with Ammunition; keep them regularly supplied with three days Provisions ready Cooked, that they may be ready to March at a Moments warning.

The Marines, Sailors &ca. from Philadelphia you will take under your care till a further disposition of them can be made, if necessary, letting me know the meanwhile if they came out resolved to act upon Land or meant to confine their Services to the Water only.

Delay no time in advising me of your strength, with sincere esteem, etc. [H.S.P.]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Trenton, December 7, 1776.

Sir: You are upon Receipt of this to cross the North River with the Troops under your Command in the Continental Service [to wit Parsons's Brigade][43] and move on so as to give all possible Protection to the Country and Vigour to the Cause. If you could move on towards Morris Town in New Jersey it would be best, as by this Means a Junction may be made if necessary and at all Events such a Movement would attract Attention. I am in Haste, etc.[44] [MS.H.S.]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Mr. Berkleys Summer seat,[45] December 8, 1776.

Sir: Colo. Reed would inform you of the Intelligence which I first met with on the Road from Trenton to Princeton

[43] The words in brackets were added by Washington.

[44] In the writing of Joseph Reed.

[45] Thomas Barclay's "Summer Seat" was in what is now Morrisville, Pa., opposite Trenton, N. J. The house was about half a mile from the Delaware River.

Yesterday.[46] Before I got to the last mention'd place, I receivd a Second Express informing me, that as the Enemy were advancing by different Routs, by one of which it appeard they were attempting to get in the Rear of the Troops at Princeton whose numbers, comparitively speaking, were small, and the place by no means defensible they had judgd it prudent to retreat to Trenton. The Retreat was accordingly made first to that place and since on this side of the River.

This information I thought it my duty to communicate as soon as possible, as there is not a moment's time to be lost in Assembling such force as can be collected as the object of the Enemy cannot now, in the smallest degree, be doubted. Indeed I shall be out in my conjecture (for it is no more than conjecture) if the late Imbarkation at New York is not for Delaware, to co-operate with the Army under the immediate command of Genl. Howe who I am informd from good authority is with the British Troops and his whole Force upon this Rout.

I have no certain Intelligence of Genl Lee; although I have sent frequent Expresses to him and lately a Colo. Hampton to bring me some accurate Accts. of his Situation; last Night I dispatch'd another Gentn. to him, Major Hoops,[47] to desire he would hasten his March to the Delaware, at which I would provide Boats near a place called Alexandria for the Transportation of his Troops. I cannot acct. for the Slowness of his March.[48]

[46] Ford quotes from a letter of Greene to Washington (December 7): "This moment a captain has returned that went to reconnoiter last night, and it is beyond a doubt the enemy are advancing; and my Lord Stirling thinks they will be up here by twelve o'clock." This letter is not in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

[47] Maj. Robert Hoops, brigade major to General Dickinson. He was appointed Deputy Commissary General of Issues July 1, 1777; resigned Aug. 7, 1777.

[48] On December 8 Lee wrote to Washington, from Morristown, N. J.: "If I was not taught to think that your Army was considerably reinforced, I should immediately join you; but as I am assured you are very strong, I should imagine We can make a better impression by hanging on their rear, for which purpose, a good Post at Chatham seems the best calculated. It is at a happy distance from Newark, Elizabethtown,

In the disorderd and moving State of the Army I cannot get returns; but from the best Accts we had between three thousand and 3500 before the Philadelphia Militia and German Battalion arrived [they amount to about two thousand.][49] I have &c.

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Falls of Delaware South Side, December 8, 1776.

Sir: As it is a matter of the utmost Importance to prevent the Enemy from crossing the Delaware, and to effect it, that all the Boats and Water Craft should be secured or destroyed. I do hereby earnestly request and desire that you will take upon you the care and Superintendency of the Matter. At Tinicum, a parcel of Boats are to be collected for the Transportation of the Troops under the Command of Major General Lee; but of this as little should be said as possible, least the Enemy avail themselves of some Advantage from the Knowledge of it. These Boats should be kept under a strong Guard. The Boats at other places ought, in my Opinion, to be destroyed or removed to Tinicum, least they should be possessed by some Stratagem of the Enemy.

You will see that the Regiment sent up to guard the hither Ferries are properly distributed and the Officers instructed. At the places of Passage above, you will endeavour from the Militia of this State or that of Jersey, to obtain sufficient Guards. In

Woodbridge and Boundbrook. It will annoy, distract and consequently weaken 'em." He addressed a similar letter to the committee of Congress sent to learn his position and situation. On the same day, after Major Hoops had reached him, he again wrote to Washington: "I am extremely shocked to hear that your force is so inadequate to the necessity of your situation, as I had been taught to think you had been considerably reinforced." He pretended to believe that the main effort of the enemy was to be directed against the Eastern States, reporting that his information was that the British embarkation at New York had sailed eastward. On this account he concluded: "It will be difficult, I am afraid, to join you; but cannot I do you more service by attacking their rear? I shall look about me tomorrow and inform you further."

[49] Words in brackets not in the writing of Washington.

order to do which, I do hereby invest you with all the powers intrusted to me for that purpose, and do moreover authorize you in the strongest terms to invite the Militia of both States, as Occasion may offer, to join this part of the Army, or that under the Command of Major General Lee, in the common defence of their rights, Liberty and property.

Trusting in your Activity and care, in having all the Boats, as high up as there can be the least danger of their being procured by, or for the use of the Enemy, secured or destroyed, and wishing you much success in it, I am, etc.[50]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, near Trenton, December 9, 1776.

Gentlemen: I am informed by Colo. Hart,[51] that the Colonels of the Bucks County Militia have been directed by you, to march their Battalions to Philadelphia, to assist in the defence and preservation of this City. I had however, previous to this information, wrote to the several Colonels, desiring they would without delay march their Men to this place, as I am convinced it will be attended with much advantage that they should join the Army here, where their assistance is essentially necessary. If you approve of the step I have taken you will please to signify it to the above mentioned Gentn. that no difficulty may arise in consequence of the different Orders. I am, etc.[52]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Trenton Falls, December 9, 1776.

Sir: I did myself the honor of writing to you yesterday and informing you that I had removed the Troops to this Side of

[50] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[51] Col. Joseph (?) Hart, of the Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp. He was taken prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y., on November 16.

[52] In the writing of John Walker.

the Delaware; soon after, the Enemy made their Appearance, and their Van entered, just as our Rear Guard quitted. We had removed all our Stores, except a few Boards. From the best Information, they are in two Bodies, one, at and near Trenton, the other some miles higher up, and inclining towards Delaware; but whether with intent to cross there, or to throw themselves between General Lee and me, is yet uncertain. I have this Morning detached Lord Stirling with his Brigade to take post at the different landing Places, and prevent them from Stealing a March upon us from above, for I am informed if they cross at Corrill's Ferry or thereabouts, they are as near to Philadelphia, as we are here. From Several Accounts, I am led to think, that the Enemy are bringing Boats with them; if so, it will be impossible for our Small Force to give them any considerable opposition in the Passage of the River, indeed they may make a feint at one place, and by a Sudden removal carry their Boats higher or lower, before we can bring our Cannon up to play upon them. Under these Circumstances, the Security of Philadelphia should be our next object. From my own remembrance, but more from Information (for I never viewed the Ground) I should think that a Communication of Lines and Redoubts might soon be formed from the Delaware to Schuylkill on the North entrance of the City. The Lines to begin on the Schuylkill side about the Heights of Springatsbury and run Eastward to Delaware, upon the most advantageous and commanding Grounds. If something of this kind is not done, the Enemy might, in case any Misfortune should befall us; march directly in and take possession. We have ever found, that Lines however Slight, are very formidable to them, they would at least give a Check till people could recover of the Fright and Consternation that naturally attends the first Appearance of an Enemy.

In the mean time, every step should be taken to collect Force not only from Pennsylvania but from the most neighbourly

States; if we can keep the Enemy from entering Philadelphia and keep the Communication by Water open, for Supplies, we may yet make a stand, if the Country will come to our Assistance, till our New Levies can be collected.

If the Measure of fortifying the City should be adopted, some skillful person should immediately view the Grounds and begin to trace out the Lines and Works. I am informed there is a French Engineer[53] of eminence in Philadelphia at this time. If so, he will be the most proper. I have the honor to be, etc.

P. S. I have just received the inclosed from Genl. Heath. Genl. Mifflin is this Moment come up and tells me, that all the Military Stores yet remain in Philadelphia. This makes the immediate fortifying of the City so necessary, that I have desired Genl Mifflin to return, to take charge of the Stores and have ordered Major Genl Putnam immediately down[54] to superintend the Works and give the necessary directions.[55]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Trenton Falls, December 10, 1776.

Dear Sir: I last night received your favor by Colo. Humpton, and were it not for the weak and feeble state of the force I have, I should highly approve of your hanging on the Rear of the Enemy and establishing the post you mention; But when my situation is directly opposite to what you suppose it to be, and when Genl. Howe is pressing forward with the whole of his Army, except the Troops that were lately embarked and a few besides, left at New York, to possess himself of Philadelphia;

[53] Possibly Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had been commissioned a colonel of Engineers on October 18 and on December 5 voted a month's pay.

[54] Ford states that Putnam took command on the 12th and established martial law. A letter from him, dated Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1776, describing the condition of affairs in the city, is in the *Washington Papers*.

[55] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

I cannot but request and entreat you and this too, by the advice of all the Genl. Officers with me, to march and join me with all your whole force, with all possible expedition. The utmost exertions that can be made, will not be more than sufficient to save Philadelphia. Without the aid of your force, I think there is but little, if any, prospect of doing it. I refer you to the Route Majr. Hoops would inform you of. The Enemy are now extended along the Delaware at several places. By a prisoner who was taken last night, I am told, that at Penny Town there are two Battalions of Infantry, three of Granadiers, The Hessian Granadiers, 42d. of Highlanders and 2 others. Their object doubtless, is to pass the river above us, or to prevent your joining me. I mention this that you may avail yourself of the information.[56] Do come on, your arrival may be happy, and if it can be effected without delay, may be the means of preserving a City, whose loss must prove of the most fatal consequences to the cause of America. I am &c.

P. S. Pray exert your influence and bring with you all the Jersey Militia you possibly can, let them not suppose their State

[56] The design of the British in their push across Jersey is clear only in a general way. After possessing Brunswick, it seems that they were led on in their advance by the lack of opposition from Washington, the destruction of whose army was, necessarily, a main object. Ford quotes from Sir William Howe's letter to Lord George Germain (December 29):

"On the 7th, Lord Cornwallis' corps . . . marched to Princeton, which the enemy had quitted on the same day. This corps marched in two divisions on the 8th; the first advancing to Trenton reached the Delaware soon after the enemy's rear guard had crossed; their main army, having passed the preceding day and night, took post on the other side of the river. Lord Cornwallis with the rear division, halted at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and marched at one o'clock next morning to Corryell's Ferry, thirteen miles higher up the Delaware, in some expectation of finding boats there, and in the neighborhood, sufficient to pass the river, but in this he was disappointed, the enemy having taken the precaution to destroy or to secure on the south side all the boats that could possibly be employed for this purpose." Cornwallis then took post at Pennington, remaining there till the 14th, when severe weather warned him of the necessity of going into winter quarters. "The chain I own, is rather too extensive, but I was induced to occupy Burlington, to cover the county of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants; and trusting to the almost general submission of the country to the southward of this chain, and to the strength of the corps placed in the advanced posts, I conclude the troops will be in perfect security."

is lost or in any danger because the Enemy are pushing thro' it, if you think Genl. St. Clair or Genl. Maxwell would be of service to command 'em, I would send either.[57]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Falls of Delaware, December 10, 1776.

Sir: Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, nothing of importance has occurred. In respect to the Enemy's movements, no other Information has been obtained, than that they have a Number of parties patrolling up and down the River (particularly the former). As yet they have not attempted to pass, nor do their patrols tho some are exceedingly small meet with the least interruption from the Inhabitants of Jersey.

By a Letter received last night from Genl Lee of the 8th Instt., he was then at Morris Town, where he entertained thoughts of establishing a Post; But on receiving my dispatches by Major Hoops, I should suppose he would be convinced of the Necessity of his proceeding this way with all the Force he can bring. I have the honor &c.

P. S. 9 O'Clock A. M. This minute I received information, that the Enemy were repairing the Bridges [which had been taken up,] three or four Miles below Trenton, which seems to indicate an intention of their passing lower down and suggests to me the necessity that some attention should be had to the Fort at Billingsport; less they should possess themselve of it, the consideration of which I beg leave to submit to Congress. I have wrote to the Council of Safety on the Subject.[58]

[57] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[58] Both the letter sent and draft are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The latter varies in many unimportant verbal particulars from the above, the most important of which is the phrase in brackets, which is omitted from the letter sent.

*GENERAL ORDERS

[Trenton Falls, December 10?, 1776]

The General desires that Brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer, Stephen and de Fermoy do, respectively, Quarter their Brigades in Houses or Hutts as compactly as possibly, that they may be soon form'd, and ready for action at the shortest notice of the approach of the Enemy. Each Brigadier is to take care of his own Front, and keep strong Guards at all the convenient passing places; the intermediate spaces between the Brigades, are to be attended to by the Brigadiers next adjoining.

This order is not intended to withdraw the German Battalion (now annex'd to Genl. Fermoys Brigade) from the Posts they at present Guard.

The Brigadiers are to use their utmost endeavours to have the Men got under the best cover they can, consistent with the above order for Quartering them compactly. and, as it does not admit of a doubt but that the Enemys attempt to cross the River will be conducted with the utmost secrecy and expedition, they cannot possible use too much vigilance and caution with their Guards.

That no Intelligence may be conveyed to the Enemy that can be avoided, no person is to pass the River but by written leave from the Brigadier in the district he commands, or a verbal message from him by an Officer to the Guard who has charge of the Boats. Colo. Housaker[59] is to observe this Rule, at the upper Ferry.

That the Recruiting Service may not be retarded, each Brigadier is to see that as many Officers (under the New Appointment)[60] as can be spared from their respective Regimts. be sent

[59] Col. Nicholas Hausseger, German Battalion, was stationed at Coryell's Ferry.
[60] The service to commence Jan. 1, 1777.

upon that Service. the Colo. or Commanding Officer of the Regiment to which they belong may apply for Money to Recruit with, and furnish them therewith.

The Brigade Majors are to fix with the Adjutant General or his Assistant upon a place to receive the daily Orders and be punctual in their attendance at the hour of Eleven as the distance will now be great for some of the Brigade Majors to come and their duty in other respects render it inconvenient they may send a Commissiond Officer for the Orders; but to none other will they be given.

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Trenton Falls, December 10, 1776.

Sir: Yours of last evening reached me at 4 OClock this Morning. I immediately sent orders to Commodore Seymour,[61] to dispatch one of his Gallies down to Dunk's Ferry, and I shall dispose of the remainder in such manner, and at such places, as will be most likely, not only to annoy the Enemy in their passage, but to give the earliest Information of any attempt of that kind. Parties of the Enemy have been reconnoitring both up and down the River, and I imagine it has been one of those parties that have appeared near Burlington; for as they have not found the least Opposition from the people of Jersey, they venture very far from their Main Body; which from the best Information, still lays about Trenton and above it.

I have desired Col. Humpton, who is the Bearer of this, to apply for a Party of Men, to go up Cooper's and Ancocus[62] Creeks, and bring down all the Craft he may find there; for it is in vain to cut down Bridges, if the Boats are left; they cannot

[61] Commodore Thomas Seymour. He commanded the Pennsylvania State Navy.

[62] Cooper Creek in Camden County, N. J., directly opposite Philadelphia, and Rancocas Creek in Burlington County, N. J., 10 miles or so above Philadelphia.

be trusted to the Owners, for if an Enemy was to appear, such is their fear, that they would deliver them up, upon the first demand.

I think that the Fort began at Billingsport should be attended to; if there is not a party already there, one should be sent under a good Officer, who would not too readily take the alarm and come off; for you may depend, that only small Bodies will be sent to that Distance. But I have always found, that the Intelligence brought by people not used to see Men in Arms, has always magnified numbers exceedingly, and on this Head the officer should be guarded, not to trust to Report, but be well Satisfied himself before he gives up his post.

Having sent down Major General Putnam to throw up necessary Works for the Defence of your City, I hope you will co-operate with him, and give him every assistance in your Power to expedite so necessary an Operation. I have the honor to be, etc.[63]

To LUND WASHINGTON

Falls of Delaware, South Side, December 10, 1776.

Dear Lund:

* * * * *

I wish to Heaven it was in my power to give you a more favorable account of our situation than it is. Our numbers, quite inadequate to the task of opposing that part of the army under the command of General Howe, being reduced by sickness, desertion, and political deaths (on or before the first instant, and having no assistance from the militia), were obliged to retire before the enemy, who were perfectly well informed of our situation, till we came to this place, where I have no idea of being able to make a stand, as my numbers, till joined

[63] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

by the Philadelphia militia, did not exceed three thousand men fit for duty. Now we may be about five thousand to oppose Howe's whole army, that part of it excepted which sailed under the command of Gen. Clinton. I tremble for Philadelphia. Nothing, in my opinion, but Gen. Lee's speedy arrival, who has been long expected, though still at a distance (with about three thousand men), can save it. We have brought over and destroyed all the boats we could lay our hands on upon the Jersey shore for many miles above and below this place; but it is next to impossible to guard a shore for sixty miles, with less than half the enemy's numbers; when by force or strategem they may suddenly attempt a passage in many different places. At present they are encamped or quartered along the other shore above and below us (rather this place, for we are obliged to keep a face towards them) for fifteen miles. * * *

December 17, ten miles above the Falls.

* * * I have since moved up to this place, to be more convenient to our great and extensive defences of this river. Hitherto, by our destruction of the boats, and vigilance in watching the fords of the river above the falls (which are now rather high), we have prevented them from crossing; but how long we shall be able to do it God only knows, as they are still hovering about the river. And if every thing else fails, will wait till the 1st of January, when there will be no other men to oppose them but militia, none of which but those from Philadelphia, mentioned in the first part of the letter, are yet come (although I am told some are expected from the back counties). When I say none but militia, I am to except the Virginia regiments and the shattered remains of Smallwood's, which, by fatigue, want of clothes, &c., are reduced to nothing—Weedon's, which was the strongest, not having more than between one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty men

fit for duty, the rest being in the hospitals. The unhappy policy of short enlistments and a dependence upon militia will, I fear, prove the downfall of our cause, though early pointed out with an almost prophetic spirit! Our cause has also received a severe blow in the captivity of Gen. Lee. Unhappy man! Taken by his own imprudence, going three or four miles from his own camp, and within twenty of the enemy, notice of which by a rascally Tory was given a party of light horse seized him in the morning after travelling all night, and carried him off in high triumph and with every mark of indignity, not even suffering him to get his hat or surtout coat. The troops that were under his command are not yet come up with us, though they, I think, may be expected to-morrow. A large part of the Jerseys have given every proof of disaffection that they can do, and this part of Pennsylvania are equally inimical. In short, your imagination can scarce extend to a situation more distressing than mine. Our only dependence now is upon the speedy enlistment of a new army. If this fails, I think the game will be pretty well up, as, from disaffection and want of spirit and fortitude, the inhabitants, instead of resistance, are offering submission and taking protection from Gen. Howe in Jersey. * * * I am &c.[64]

To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Head Quarters, Falls of Delaware, December 11, 1776.

Sir: From the Movement of the Enemy downwards, I think it highly necessary that the Post at Dunks's Ferry should be guarded. I therefore desire that one of the Battalions of your Brigade may immediately march, and take post at that place. If it is agreeable to you I would chuse, the 3d. Battalion under the Command of Lt. Colonel Nixon.[65] The other two Battalions

[64] The text is from Ford, who printed it from the copy made in 1862 from the original by C. F. Lee, jr., of Alexandria, Va. The whereabouts of the original is unknown.

[65] John(?) Nixon, of the Pennsylvania Associators.

should be under Orders to march at a Moments Warning. I expect the pleasure of your Company at dinner; but if you cannot come, as soon after as it is convenient. I am, etc.[66] [H.S.P.]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Trenton Falls, December 11, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 8th. Instt. by the Light Horseman reached me last night. Having wrote you fully respecting my Situation just before it came to hand, it is unnecessary to add much now; I shall only say that Philadelphia, beyond all question, is the object of the Enemy's movements and that nothing less than our utmost exertions, will be sufficient to prevent Genl. Howe from possessing it. The force I have is weak and entirely incompetent to that end. I must therefore entreat you to push on with every possible succour you can bring. Your aid may give a more favourable complexion to our affairs. You know the importance of the City of Philadelphia and the fatal consequences that must attend the loss of it.[67] I am &c.[68]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON

Trenton Falls, December 11, 1776.

Dear Sir: Being desirous of effecting an Exchange of Prisoners as far as Circumstances will admit of, I shall be much

[66] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[67] Ford states that this letter did not reach Lee. On December 11 Lee wrote a short note to Washington, in the third person, from Morristown, N. J., that his force was 3,000 strong, but had been obliged to halt for two days for want of shoes: "General Lee has sent two Officers this day—one to inform him where the Delaware can be crossed above Trenton—the other to examine the road towards Burlington as General Lee thinks He can without great risk cross the great Brunswick Post road and by a forced Nights march make his way to the ferry below Burlington. Boats should be sent up from Philadelphia to receive him—but this scheme He only proposes if the head of the Enemy's Column actually pass the River—the Militia in this part of the Province seem sanguine—if They could be sure of an Army remaining amongst em I believe They wou'd raise a very considerable number." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[68] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

obliged by your transmitting to me by the earliest Opportunity, the Names and Ranks of the Officers who were released on parole by Genl. Carleton. I presume you have a list in which they are specified and without which, I cannot point out to Genl. Howe, the Officers who should be discharged from their paroles, in lieu of those who have been and will be sent in by us. I am &c.

P. S. Your exchange for Govr. Franklin has been proposed to Genl. Howe, who has returned no answer as yet.[69]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Falls of Delaware, December 11, 1776.

Sir: After I had wrote you Yesterday, I received certain Information that the Enemy, after repairing Croswicks Bridge, had advanced a party of about five hundred to Bordentown; by their taking this Rout, it confirms me in my opinion, that they have an Intention to land between this and Philadelphia, as well as above, if they can procure Boats for that Purpose. I last night directed Commodore Seymour, to Station all his Gallies between Bordentown and Philadelphia, to give the earliest Intelligence of any Appearance of the Enemy on the Jersey Shore. I yesterday rode up the River about 11 Miles to Lord Stirling's post, where I found a prisoner of the 42d Regiment, who had been just brought in; he informed me that Lord Cornwallis was at Penny Town, with two Battalions of Grenadiers and three of Light Infantry, all British; the Hessian Grenadiers the 42d Highland Regiment and two other Battalions the names of which he did not remember. He knew nothing of the reasons of their being assembled there, nor what were their future Intentions; but I last night received Information from my Lord Stirling, which had been brought in by his Scouts, which in some Measure accounted for their being there. They had made

[69] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

a forced March from Trenton on Sunday Night to Coryell's Ferry, in hopes of Surprising a Sufficient Number of Boats to transport them, but finding themselves disappointed, had marched back to Penny Town, where they remained yesterday. From their Several Attempts to seize Boats, it does not look as if they had brought any with them, as I was at one time informed. I last Night sent a person over to Trenton, to learn whether there was any appearance of building any, but he could not perceive any preparations for a work of that kind. So that I am in Hopes, if proper Care is taken to keep all the Craft out of their way, they will find the crossing Delaware, a Matter of considerable Difficulty.

I received another Letter from General Lee last Evening, it was dated at Chatham (which I take to be near Morris Town) the 8th. of this Month, he had then received my Letter sent by Major Hoops, but seemed still inclined to hang upon the Enemy's Rear, to which I should have no Objection had I a sufficient force to oppose them in Front; but as I have not at present, nor do I see much probability of further Reinforcements, I have wrote to him in the most pressing Terms, to join me with all Expedition.

Major Sheldon[70] who commands the Volunteer Horse from Connecticut, waits upon Congress, to establish some mode of Pay. I can only say, that the Service of himself and his Troop, has been such as merits the warmest Thanks of the public and deserves a handsome Compensation for their Trouble. Whatever is Settled now, will serve for a precedent in future. From the Experience I have had this Campaign, of the Utility of Horse, I am Convinced there is no carrying on the War without them, and I would therefore recommend the Establishment

[70] Maj. Elisha Sheldon. He was commandant of Connecticut Light Horse, Dec. 12, 1776; colonel of the Second Continental Dragoons; served to end of the war.

of one or more Corps, (in proportion to the Number of Foot) in Addition to those already raised in Virginia. If Major Sheldon would undertake the Command of a Regiment of Horse on the Continental Establishment, I believe he could very soon raise them, and I can recommend him as a Man of Activity and Spirit, from what I have seen of him. I have the honor to be &c.[71]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Sir: I was, a few days ago, favoured with yours of the 30th. last month)[72] and this is the first Opportunity that afforded me the pleasure of answering it. The Event has shewn, that my Opinion, of General Howe's Intentions to make an Excursion into Jersey, was not ill founded. Immediately after the Reduction of Fort Washington, he threw a Body of Men, consisting of about 6.000 over the North River, with an Intention to surprise the Garrison of Fort Lee; but they withdrew before he could accomplish his purpose. Finding the few Troops, I had with me, insufficient to oppose the Enemy, and knowing that my numbers would still be diminished by the Expiration of the Service of the flying Camp Men from Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, which would take Place on the last day of November; it was determined to retreat as far as Brunswick; where I hoped to receive a Reinforcement from the Militia of the State of New Jersey, sufficient to check the further progress of the Enemy. But in this I was cruelly disappointed. The Inhabitants of this State, either from fear or disaffection, almost

[71] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The draft, also by Tilghman, varies in minor verbal details from the letter sent.

[72] Trumbull's letter, outlining the Connecticut arrangements for supplying her troops, dated Nov. 30, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

to a Man refused to turn out; and I could not bring together above 1.000 Men; and, even on these, very little dependance was to be put. My Numbers were now reduced to three thousand Men, and that of the Enemy considerably increased by fresh reinforcements. I had sent General Mifflin down to Philadelphia, to raise what Force he could in that Province and send them on, with all speed to my Assistance. I fell down myself to Trenton, in order to wait for Supplies, hoping that such Numbers would come in from Pennsylvania, as would enable me to turn upon the Enemy, and recover most of the Ground which they had gained. General Mifflin was very Successful with the Militia of Philadelphia, who turned out in a very Spirited Manner, and immediately Marched about 1.500 Men up to Trenton; but the remainder of the Province continues in a State of Supineness; nor do I see any likelyhood of their stiring, to save their own Capital, which is undoubtedly General Howe's great object. The Delaware now parts the two Armies; and nothing hinders the passage of the Enemy, but the Want of Boats, which we have been lucky enough to secure. General Lee is still in the rear of the Enemy, with about four thousand Men, with whom he is on his March to join me; if he can effect this junction, our Army will again make a respectable appearance, and such as, I hope, will disappoint the Enemy in their plan upon Philadelphia. I sent down General Putnam, a few days ago, to begin upon some works for the defence of that City; upon the Salvation of which our Cause almost depends. I am informed that the Inlistment of the New Army goes on very Successfully to the Eastward and Southward; little or nothing can be expected from New York or Jersey, which are, for the most part, in the Hands of the Enemy. Every thing must depend upon the regular Force we can bring into the Field in the Spring; for I find, from fatal Experience, that Militia serve only to delude us.

As my Distance from the Eastern Governments makes me ignorant of their present Circumstances; I will not undertake to direct the Disposition of the four Regiments, you have Ordered to be raised, till the 15th March. I would only recommend, if they can be spared, that they should March and take post at the Highlands and at the Forts upon the North River, as much depends still upon keeping possession of the upper part of that River. I highly approve of your Plan, for supplying your New Army with Necessaries; our old one has suffered considerably for want of some such wholesome Regulations; you may depend upon my giving due Countenance to such a commendable Scheme. I am etc.[73]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Sir: I last night received the favor of Mr. Thomson's Letter, inclosing the proceedings of Congress of the 11th. Inst. As the publication of their Resolve, in my opinion, will not lead to any good end, but on the contrary, may be attended with some bad consequences, I shall take the liberty to decline inserting it in this days Orders, [unless I am requested again to do it]. I am persuaded, if the subject is taken up and reconsidered, that Congress will concur with me in Sentiment. I doubt not but there are some who have propagated the report, but what if they have? Their remaining in or leaving Philadelphia must be governed by Circumstances and events; If their departure should become necessary, it will be right; On the other hand, if there should not be a necessity for it, [and if necessity should not proclaim the measure prudent,] they will [not] remain [depart,] and their continuance will shew the report to be the production of Calumny and Falsehood. In a word, Sir, I

[73] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

conceive it a matter that may be as well [be] disregarded, and that the removal or staying of Congress, depending entirely upon events should not have been the Subject of a Resolve.[74]

The intelligence we obtain respecting the Movements and situation of the Enemy is far from being so certain and satisfactory as I could wish, tho' every probable means in my power and that I can devise are adopted for that purpose. The latest I have received was from Lord Stirling last night, he says that two Grenadiers of the Inniskilling Regiment who were taken and brought in by some Countrymen, inform that Genls. Howe, Cornwallis, Vaughan[75] &c. with about 6000 of the flying Army were at Penny Town waiting for Pontoons to come up, with which they mean to pass the River near the Blue Mounts, or at Correls Ferry, they believe the latter. That the two Battalions of Guards were at Brunswick and the Hessian Grenadiers,

[74] The nervousness of Congress increased as the British advanced. Curious resolutions were passed. One (December 10) directed Washington and Putnam in military matters; another (December 11) appointed a day of fasting and humiliation, recommending to "all the members of the United States, and particularly the officers civil and military under them, the exercise of repentance and reformation," the strict observation of the Articles of War, and particularly of those forbidding profane swearing and all immorality. By another (December 12) all the vessels in the harbor were placed at the disposal of Putnam. Continental stores were directed to be removed, and a bold front assumed by directing that the city be defended "to the utmost extremity." On December 11 it was resolved that: "Whereas a false and malicious report hath been spread by the enemies of America that the Congress was about to disperse: Resolved, That General Washington be desired to contradict the said scandalous report in general orders, this Congress having a better opinion of the spirit and vigour of the army, and of the good people of these states than to suppose it can be necessary to disperse. Nor will they adjourn from the city of Philadelphia in the present state of affairs, unless the last necessity shall direct it." Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, sent this resolve to Washington December 11. This resolve is in the *Washington Papers.*

On December 12 Congress resolved: "That, until the Congress shall otherwise order, General Washington be possessed of full power to order and direct all things relative to the department, and to the operations of war." (See Washington's letter to Congress, Dec. 27, 1776, *post.*)

Congress adjourned to Baltimore on December 12 and on December 21 "Resolved, That Mr. President inform General Washington by letter, that Congress approve his conduct in not publishing in general orders the resolve of Congress of the 11 instant." Both this resolve and the previous one of December 11 have been crossed out in the manuscript *Journals of the Continental Congress,* but a copy of that of December 21, signed by John Hancock, President, is in the *Washington Papers.*

[75] Sir John Vaughan, colonel of the Forty-sixth Foot, British Army, with the rank of major general in America.

Chasseurs and a Regiment or two of British Troops are at Trenton. Capt. Miller[76] of Colo. Hand's Regiment also informs me, that a body of the Enemy were marching to Burlington on Yesterday Morning. He had been sent over with a strong Scouting Party and at day break, fell in with their advanced Guards consisting of about 400 Hessian Troops who fired upon him before they were discovered, but without any loss and obliged him to retreat and with his party to take boat. The Number of the whole he could not ascertain, but they appeared to be considerable. Captn. Miller's Account is partly Confirmed by Commodore Seymour who reports that four or five hundred of the Enemy had entered the Town. Upon the whole their can be no doubt, but that Philadelphia is their object and that they will pass the Delaware, as soon as possible. Happy should I be, if I could see the means of preventing them. At present I confess I do not. All Military Men agree, that it is a work of great difficulty, nay impracticable, where there is any extent of Coast to guard. This is the case with us and we have to do it, with a force small and inconsiderable and much inferior to that of the Enemy. Perhaps Congress have some hope and prospect of Reinforcements; I have no intelligence of the sort and wish to be informed on the Subject. Our little handfull is daily decreasing by sickness and other causes, and without aid, without considerable Succours and exertions on the part of the people, what can we reasonably look for or expect, but an event that will be severely felt by the Common cause and that will wound the Heart of every Virtuous American, the loss of Philadelphia. The Subject is disagreeable, but yet it is true. I will leave it, wishing that our situation may become such as to do away [with] the apprehensions, which at this time fill the minds of too many and with too much justice.

[76] Capt. Henry Miller, of the First Continental Infantry. He rose to lieutenant colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment and resigned in December, 1778.

By a Letter from General Heath dated at Peeks Kills the 8th, I am advised that Lt. Colo. Vose[77] was then there with Greaton's[78] Bond's[79] and Porter's[80] Regiments, amounting in the whole to between 5 and 600 Men, who were coming this way, he adds that Genls. Gates and Arnold would be at Goshen that night, with Stark's, Poor's and Read's Regiments, but for what purpose he does not mention.

The Inclosed Extract of a Letter, which I received last night, contains intelligence of an agreeable nature, I wish to hear of its confirmation by the arrival of the Several prizes; that with Cloathing and Arms will be an invaluable acquisition.[81]

I shall be glad to be advised of the mode I am to observe in paying the Officers, Whether they are to be allowed to draw the pay lately established and from what time or how long they are to be paid, under the old establishment. A pay Roll which was presented yesterday being made up for the men, has given rise to these propositions. Upon my objecting to it, [without having the direction of Congress upon the Subject] I was told that Congress or the Board of War had established the precedent by paying the 6th Regiment of Virginia Troops commanded by Colo. Buckner[82] agreeable to the latter [under the New Establishment,] as they came thro' Philadelphia. I have the Honor &c.[83]

[77] Lieut. Col. Joseph Vose, of the Twenty-fourth Continental Infantry. He was colonel of the First Massachusetts Regiment in January, 1777, and served to the end of the war.

[78] Col. John Greaton, of the Twenty-fourth Continental Infantry.

[79] Col. William Bond, of the Twenty-fifth Continental Infantry.

[80] Col. Elisha Porter, of a Massachusetts militia regiment.

[81] The reported capture was that of a ship with 3,000 stands of arms and 10,000 suits of clothing. The extract is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

[82] Col. Mordecai Buckner, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment.

[83] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison and show plainly the strain at headquarters. The draft is unusually altered and is entered on three different pieces of paper, showing two false starts. The letter sent varies

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, near Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your letter of the 8th. Instt. has come duly to hand, and I am glad to hear, that Greaton's, Bond's and Porter's Regiments are coming forward to join me; at the same time I must acknowledge I should have been much better satisfied, if they had contained a greater number of men than what you have mentioned. your sending them on, with all possible expedition, was exceedingly proper; indeed no time is to be lost, as the necessity of our affairs at present requires an immediate augmentation of our force.

I have observed, in your letter, you have mentioned, the arrival of Generals Gates and Arnold at Goshen, with Patterson's, Starks, Poors and Reads Regiments, but have not mentioned whether they are on their march to join us; though I conjecture that this is the case from the route they have taken. As every thing ought to be attempted for the preservation of Philadelphia, I hope these Troops will make all imaginable haste to get here in time to be of service. Our situation at present in this Quarter is truly critical; our Army (as you have been informed) has been greatly diminished; The Troops composing the flying camp have mostly gone home, and we have as yet received very little assistance except from the Philadelphia Militia; The Enemy under the Command of Genls. Howe, Cornwallis and Vaughan, amounting to about twelve thousand, are posted at Trenton, Penny Town and downwards towards Borden Town, waiting for an Opportunity to cross over; Their Views are to get possession of Philadelphia, however it is very probable they

considerably in phraseology, but not in sense, from the draft. The most important variations are shown, the words within the brackets in the foregoing having been omitted from the letter sent.

will considerably extend them unless we can procure a sufficient force to oppose their progress. I am &c.

P. S. With respect to the Officers of one State inlisting the Soldiers of another, it is not to be allowed of, and as to the convalescents you will use your own discretion.[84]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON

Head Quarters at Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Sir: You will post your Troops at Yardley's ferry or some where near it, find out the fording place there and have a Redoubt thrown up immediately. You and General Ewing must divide the ground between Trenton Falls and your post, and establish the proper Guards and Patrols to watch the Enemy's motions; you will spare no pains or Expence to obtain Intelligence. All promises made or Monies advanced, shall be fully complyed with and discharged. Every piece of Intelligence worthy notice you obtain, forward it to me by Express. Let the Troops always have three days provision cooked before hand, and keep them together, as much as possible, night and day, that they may be in readiness in the shortest notice to make head against the Enemy. Should they attempt to land on this side you will give them all the Opposition in your power; should you be routed from your post you are to repair to the strong Grounds at German Town, unless you can possibly join the upper or lower division of the Army, which, if practicable, you are to do. Be particularly attentive to the Boats and other Vessels, and suffer no person to pass over to the Jerseys here without a permit.[85]

[84] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson. The letter sent, also in Grayson's writing, is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has in the P. S. the additional sentence: "Please to forwd. the inclosed to Governor Trumbull, as soon as possible."

[85] The draft is in the writing of George Lewis and Samuel Blatchley Webb.

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Bucks County, December 12, 1776.

Sir: The inclosed Lists[86] which I have taken the Liberty of transmitting comprehend the Officers belonging to your Army who were returned on the 4th, 7th. and 8th. current, by Col. Moylan, in pursuance of my direction. I have affixed against their names such belonging to us, as I wish to have released, and who are of the same rank, except in the Instance of Colo. Allen.[87] His exchange on account of his long imprisonment, I have been particularly instructed to propose.

The Officers whose enlargement I now require, are chiefly on parole and of those who were sent from Canada by Genl. Carleton. In respect to the privates, you will be pleased to direct an equal number to be returned, out of those who were made Prisoners on Long Island on the 27th of August, including six Volunteers described in one of the Lists.

I thank you for the ready attention that was had to the return of Major Bird[88] and others who came out with him, in exchange for the Officers who went from Brunswick, but I must request that upon any future Occasions, the particular Officers to be returned shall be of my appointment, or some person authorized for the purpose.

I cannot conclude this Letter, without mentioning the severe Treatment of Monsr. Wiebert.[89] This Gentleman, was made prisoner on the 16th. Ulto. with the Garrison on York Island and who holds the Rank of a Lieut: Colo: in our service, I am

[86] Copies of these lists are not now found in the *Washington Papers*.

[87] Col. Ethan Allen.

[88] Maj. Edward Burd, of the Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp. He had been taken prisoner at Long Island, N. Y.

[89] Lieut. Col. Antoine Felix Wuibert. He seems to have been mistreated because he did not have his commission with him when captured. Putnam forwarded the commission to Washington in a letter (December 12) from Philadelphia. It is in the *Washington Papers*.

credibly informed has been committed to the Provoost Guard and is there suffering all the inconveniences of a Gaol.

I am persuaded, this Treatment is without your Knowledge and that the Complaint will be removed, as soon as it is discovered. I am Sir, etc.[90]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES EWING

Head Quarters at Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Sir: Your Brigade is to guard the River Delaware from the Ferry opposite to Bordentown till you come within two Miles or thereabouts of Yardleys Mill, to which General Dickinson's command will extend.

About One hundred, or a hundred and fifty men, will, I should think, be sufficient at the post opposite to Borden Town, the principal part of your Force, should be as convenient as possible to the Ford above Hoops's Mill, in order that if a passage should be attempted at that place you may give the earliest and most spirited opposition, the success of which depending upon good intelligence, and the vigilance of your Guards and Sentries, will induce you to use every means in your power to procure the first, and every endeavour to enforce and encourage the latter.

Between Borden Town and the Mill, and from the Mill to the extent of your Line above, you are to have intermediate Guards and Centries, who are to be as attentive as possible, in discovering and informing you of every movement of the Enemy; constant patroles are also to pass, In a word, so much depends upon watchfulness that you cannot possibly be too much upon your Guard.

As the Ford from the Jersey Shore, leads on to the upper end of the Island adjoining the Mill, you are to throw up a breast work for Musquetry near the landing place, and secure your

[90] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

communication with it. Besides this Work, another on the height on this side for a Field Piece or two should be erected.

Be particularly careful of your Field Pieces and do not suffer them to be left, if there is a possibility of avoiding it.

You are, as I before said, to give every possible opposition to the Enemy, particularly at crossing the River, but if you should be overpowered, and obliged to retreat, join that part of the Troops under my immediate Command, or the other under Colonel Cadwallader; in the latter case, the best stand possible is to be made at Neshamini Ferry, Bridge and Fords; but if you are unable to hold these, then seize the strong Grounds in the neighbourhood of German Town, unless you receive orders to the contrary from me or some other your superior Officer.

Spare no pains, nor cost, to gain information of the Enemy's movements, and designs; whatever sums you pay to obtain this end, I will chearfully refund. Every piece of information worthy of communication, transmit to me without loss of time. A part of Colo. Hart's Battalion I have ordered to join your Brigade. Keep your Troops always supplied with three days Provisions, and prevent them from stragling, that they may be ready at a moment's warning, to oppose the Enemy in their passage of the River.

[Be particularly attentive to the Boats and other vessels, and suffer no person to pass over to the Jersey shore without a permit.][91]

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JUNIOR

Head Quarters near Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.

Dear Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated at Bethlehem the 8th. Instt.[92] Your proposition of opening

[91] The draft is in the writing of George Lewis and John Fitzgerald, except the paragraph in brackets, which is in that of Washington and signed by him.

[92] Shippen's letter, dated Dec. 8, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers* and has its value in the Shippen-Morgan controversy over the Continental hospitals.

Dr. Morgans Stores, I entirely approve of, and which you are authorized to do immediately, as it is, in every instance my ardent wish, that the sick be provided for, in the most happy and comfortable manner, our Circumstances will admit of, and I know of no good reason, why Stores should be preserved for a future day, when they are so much wanted at present. I am &c.[93]

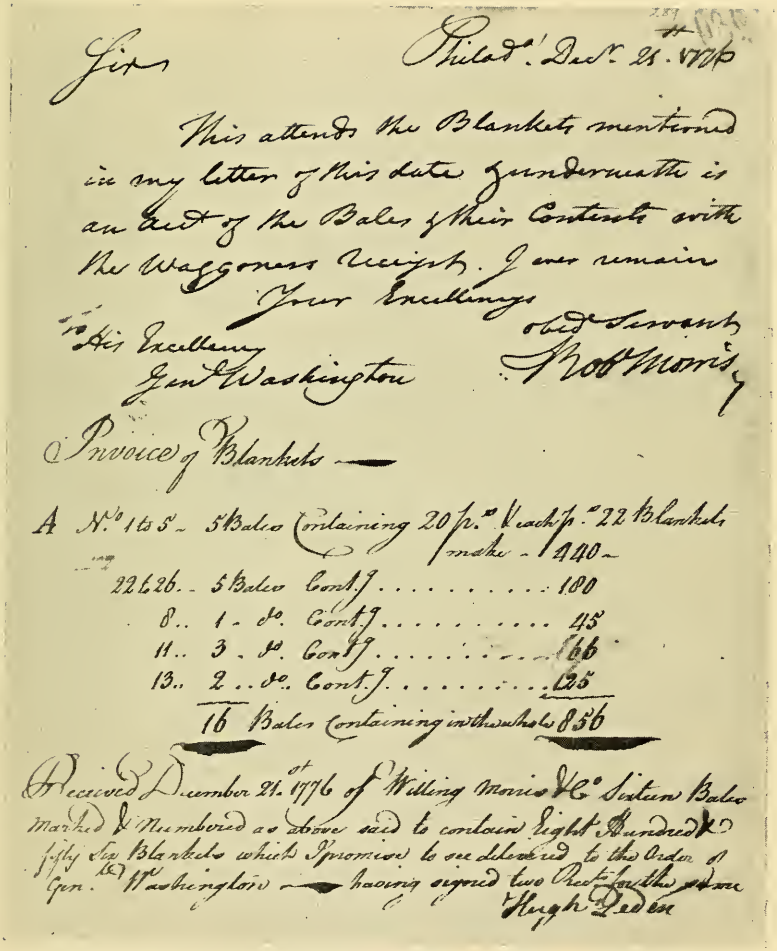
To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Head Quarters at Trenton Falls, December 12, 1776.[94]

Sir: You are to post your Brigade at and near Bristol, Colo. Nixons Regiment to continue where it is at Dunks's ferry; but if you find, from reconnoitering the ground or from any movement of the Enemy, that any other disposition is necessary, you'll make it accordingly, without waiting to hear from me; but to acquaint me of the alterations and the reasons for it, as soon as possible. You'll establish the necessary Guards and throw up some little Redoubts at Dunks's ferry and the different passes in Neshamini. Pay particular attention to Dunks ferry, as its not improbable something may be attempted there. Spare no pains or expence to get Intelligence of the Enemy's motions and intentions. Any promises made or Sums advanced, shall be fully complied with and discharged: Keep proper Patroles going from guard to guard. Every piece of Intelligence you obtain worthy notice, send it forward by Express. If the Enemy attempt a landing on this side, you'll give them what opposition in your power; should they land between

[93] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson.

[94] Joseph Reed wrote to Washington (December 12): "The Militia are crossing over [the Delaware into Jersey] in Parties. I fear they do not mean to return. I do not know by whose Orders but if their Colonels have Power to give Permission in a little Time there will be none left. . . . Mr. Moylan desires me to mention to your Excelly. the Propriety of his meeting Gen. Lee to inform him of the State of Things and wishes to know your Pleasure by the Return of the Light Horse." Reed's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.



Sir Philad.a Dec.r 21. 1776

This attends the Blankets mentioned in my letter of this date & underneath is an Acct of the Bales & their Contents with the Waggoners receipt. I ever remain

Your Excellency's obed.t Servant

Rob.t Morris

To His Excellency Gen.l Washington

Invoice of Blankets —

A N.o 1 to 5 – 5 Bales Containing 20 p.s & each p.s 22 Blankets make – 440 –

22 to 26 – 5 Bales Cont.g 180

8 .. 1 – d.o Cont.g 45

11 .. 3 – d.o Cont.g 66

13 .. 2 .. d.o Cont.g 125

16 Bales Containing in the whole 856

Received December 21.st 1776 of Willing Morris & C.o Sixteen Bales Marked & Numbered as above said to contain Eight Hundred & fifty Six Blankets which I promise to see delivered to the Order of Gen.l Washington — having signed two Rec.ts for the same

Hugh Deden

Invoice of Blankets Sent to the Army by Robert Morris, Just Before the Battle of Trenton

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
LIBRARY

Trenton Falls and Bordentown ferry, or any where above Bristol, and you find your force quite equal to theirs, give them what opposition you can at Neshamini ferry and Fords. In a Word, you are to give them all the Opposition you can, without hazarding the Loss of your Brigade. Keep a good Guard over such Boats, as are not scuttled or rendered unfit for use, keep a good look out for Spies, endeavour to magnify your Numbers as much as possible; let the Troops have always three days provisions cooked before hand; endeavour to keep your Troops, as much together as possible, night and day, that they may be ever in readiness to march upon the shortest notice. You'll consult with the Commodore of the Gallies and endeavor to form such an Arrangement, as will most effectually Guard the River. To your directions and prudence I submit any further regulations and recommend the greatest degree of vigilence.

If you should find yourself unable to defend the passes on the Neshamini or the Enemy should route you from your Post, you are to repair to the strong ground near German Town, unless you have orders from me or some other General Officer to the contrary.

Be particularly attentive to the Boats and Vessels, and suffer no person to pass over to the Jerseys without a permit.[95]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp at Trenton Falls, December 13, 1776.

Sir: The apparent designs of the Enemy being to avoid this Ferry, and land their Troops above and below us, have induced me to remove from this place, the greater part of the Troops and throw them into a different Disposition on the River, whereby I hope not only to be more able to impede their passage, but

[95] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

also to avoid the Danger of being inclosed in this Angle of the River. And notwithstanding the extended Appearance of the Enemy on the other Side, made at least in part, to divert our Attention from any particular point, as well as to harrass us by Fatigue, I cannot divest myself of the Opinion that their principal Design is to Ford the River somewhere above Trenton; to which Design I have had particular Respect in the new Arrangement, wherein I am so far happy as to have the Concurrence of all the General Officers at this place.

Four Brigades of the Army under Generals Lord Stirling, Mercer, Stephen and D'Fermoy extend from Yardley's up to Coryel's Ferry, posted in such a Manner as to guard every suspicious part of the River and to afford Assistance to each other, in case of Attack. Genl Ewing with the Flying Camp of Pennsylvania and a few Jersey Troops under General Dickinson, are posted from Yardley's Ferry down to the Ferry opposite Bordentown. Col. Cadwallader with the Pennsylvania Militia occupies the Ground above and below the Mouth of Neshaminy River, as far down as Dunks Ferry, at which place Colonel Nixon is posted with the 3d Battalion of Philadelphia. A proper Quantity of Artillery is appointed to each Brigade, and I have ordered small Redoubts to be thrown up opposite every place where there is a possibility of fording.

I shall remove further up the River to be near the main Body of my small Army, with which every possible Opposition shall be given to any further Approach of the Enemy towards Philadelphia.

As General Armstrong has a good deal of influence in this State and our present force is small and inconsiderable, I think he cannot be better employed than to repair to the Counties where his interest lies to animate the People, promote the recruiting service and encourage the Militia to come in. He will

also be able to form a proper Judgement of the places suitable for Magazines of Provision to be collected. I have requested him to wait upon you on this subject, and if General Smallwood should go to Maryland on the same business, I think his presence would have a happy effect. He is popular and of great Interest and I am persuaded would contribute greatly to the State's furnishing her Quota of Men in a little time. He is now in Philadelphia. I have the honor &c.[96]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 14, 1776.

Sir: I was last night favored with yours of the 6th. In a letter, which I did myself the pleasure to write to you two days ago, I gave you a full Account of my present Situation and the occurrences that have happened since I left the Neighbourhood of Fort Lee. The want of Means of Transportation, has hitherto hindered the Enemy from making any Attempt to cross the Delaware; and, I hope, unless the Course of the Season intirely changes, that the Weather will soon prevent their making use of Boats, if they should build them.

[96] The letter sent is in the writing of Tench Tilghman and Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft is dated December 12 and was begun by Brig. Gen. John Armstrong, added to by Washington, continued by Tilghman, and finally finished by Harrison. The middle portion of the draft was stricken out in favor of the general description of troop positions in the second paragraph above, but the importance of the Trenton campaign justifies the inclusion of the more detailed and discarded description in the draft. "As I cannot at present farther enter into the various motives of this alteration, I shall only add a Copy of the Arrangement itself. Generals Lord Sterling, Mercer, Stevens and La Roch De Fermoy's Brigades are to take post at and below Corriels and McConkeys Ferrys. Lord Stirling's Brigade to continue at and near where his head Quarters are [at Blue Mount Ferry]. Genl. Stevens next below it. Genl. Mercer below Stevens. Genl. Defermoy above Lord Sterling. The Jerman Battalion to join Genl. Fermoy's Brigade. Genl. Ewings Brigade to continue at this Post and guard the River from Bordentown up towards Yeardlies Ferry. Redouts to be Erected at the Ford at Trenton Falls and near Yeardlies Ferry. Coll: Cadwalladers Brigade to take post at Bristol and [Guard those parts of the River Including Dunks's Ferry and to watch the motions of that part of the Enemy which have moved down towards]." The parts in brackets are in Washington's writing; the rest is in that of Armstrong.

Your Situation to the Eastward is truly alarming; and I wish it were in my power to afford you that assistance that is requisite.[97] You must be sensible, that it is impossible for me to detach any part of my small Army, when I have an Enemy far superior in numbers to oppose; but I have immediately countermanded the march of General Heath's Division, who were coming down from Peekskill; they are ordered to return again to that place, and hold themselves ready to move, as occasion may require. Genl Lee's division are so necessary to support this part of the Army, that, without their Assistance, we must inevitably be overpowred, and Philadelphia lost. I have Ordered General Arnold, who was on his way down from Ticonderoga, immediately to repair to New London, or wherever his presence will be most necessary. The Troops, that came down with him and Genl. Gates, are already, [from the advices I have received] so far advanced towards this Army, that to countermand them now, would be loosing the small remainder of their Service intirely; as the Time of their Inlistments would expire, before they could possibly reach you; Whereas by coming on, they may in conjunction with my present Force and that under Genl. Lee, enable us to attempt a Stroke upon the Forces of the Enemy, who lay a good deal scattered and to all appearance in a state of Security. A lucky Blow in this Quarter, would be fatal to them, and would most certainly raise the Spirits of the People, which are quite sunk by our late misfortunes.

In the Interval, between the Dissolution of the old and the Inlistment of the New Army, we must put our dependance on the public Spirit and Virtue of the People; which, I am sorry to say, has manifested but too small a Regard to their rights and

[97] Sparks notes that General Clinton and Earl Percy, with 6,000 British troops detached from the main army at New York, took possession of Newport and Rhode Island on December 8. For the letters of General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker relating to this event see the *Remembrancer*, vol. 3, pp. 261, 262.

Liberties in the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; the Citizens of Philadelphia excepted; but, I hope, such a Spirit still exists among your people, as will convince these bold Invaders, that, altho' they may, by a Superior Naval Force, take possession of your Sea port Towns, yet, they cannot penetrate and over run your Country with Impunity. I have the Honor to be, etc.

P. S. I have just received a Letter from General Heath of the 10th. Inst., in which he informs me, that his Division was to Cross the North River on that day; so that they must be at Morris Town by this time, which is but 50 Miles from hence; upon this Consideration, I have changed my Intention of countermanding him, for the same reasons as given in my Letter above, respecting the Troops under Generals Gates and Arnold.[98]

*To LORD STIRLING

December 14, 1776.

My Lord: Repair with all possible expedition to Genl. Lee's Camp. Know his Situation, Numbers, &ca. Send Officers you can confide in to Genls. Gates, and Heath, to be informd of their numbers, condition and when they may be expected at Pitts Town.

Use every possible means without regard to expence, to come with certainty, at the Enemys strength, situation and movements; without this we wander in a Wilderness of uncertainties and difficulty, and no plan can be formd upon a Rational plan. When you see Genl. Lee and converse with him as also (Gates and Heath if possible) what probable mode of attack can be attempted and give me the earliest advice of it; recollect that

[98] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, except the phrase in brackets, which is in Washington's writing.

there is a difficulty in crossing from hence to the other side (on acct. of Boats) and that it will take sometime to put the Troops about Bristol in Motion if a cooperation is necessary.

Weigh every circumstance of attack, and retreat properly, that nothing that can be guarded against, may be unprovided for. Give me the earliest and best advice of every matter; and do all in your power to inspirit the Militia, and bring them into use to the best advantage.

Reposing the most implicit confidence in you and the Officers before mentioned I do not mean to tie you down to any rule but leave you to the free exercise of your own judgments of wch. as I before said I only want timely advice. With the most sincere regards I remain, etc.[99]

*To THE GENERAL OFFICERS

Head Quarters at Keith's, December 14, 1776.

Dr. Sir: Lest the Enemy should, in some degree avail themselves of the knowledge (for I do not doubt but that they are well inform'd of everything we do) I did not care to be so particular in the General Orders of this day as I mean to be in this Letter to you.

As much Time then would be lost (in case the Enemy should attempt crossing the River at any pass within your guard of it) in first sending you notice, and the Troops to wait for Orders what to do, I would advise you to examine the whole River from the upper to the lower Guard of your district; and after forming an opinion of the most probable crossing places, have those well watchd and direct the Regiments or Companies most convenient to repair as they can be formed, immediately to the point of Attack, and give the Enemy all the opposition they possibly can, everything in a manner depends upon the defence

[99] The editor is indebted to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach for the text of this letter.

at the Water edge, in like manner one Brigade is to support another without loss of time, or waiting orders from me.

I would also have You fix upon some Central Spot convenient to your Brigade, but in the rear a little, and on some Road leading into the Back road to Philadelphia for your unnecessary Baggage, Waggons and Stores, that in case your opposition should prove inefectual these things may not fall but be got off and proceed over Neshamony Bridge towards German Town agreeable to the determination of the Board of Officers the other day. Let me entreat you to Cast about to find out some Person who can be engaged to cross the River as a spy, that we may, if possible, obtain some knowledge of the Enemy's Situation, movements, and intention; particular enquiry to be made by the person sent if any preparations are making to cross the River; whether any Boats are Building, and where; whether any are coming across Land from Brunswick; whether any great collection of Horses are made, and for what purpose &c. Expence must not be spared in procuring such Inteligence, and will readily be paid by me. We are in a Neighbourhood of very disaffected People, equal care therefore should be taken that one of these Persons do not undertake the business in order to betray us.[1]

As your numbers are rather small endeavour to shew them, now and then to the best advantage, an appearance might be made with those you have as if fresh Troops were coming in, and if you stop all Intercourse but such as is carried on to the other side by your own permit it will take a little time to discover the deception and every hour gained is of service in our present Situation.

[1] Stryker's *Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (New York: 1898), pp. 87–89, tells of John Honeyman as the spy of Trenton, but the evidence is not sufficient to identify him as the person selected according to the above direction. A man by the name of Pomroy was sent into the British lines by Reed.

If possible get some person in to Trenton, and let Him be satisfied if any Boats are building at that place and on Croswicks Creek. I am, etc.[2]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Head Quarters at Keiths, December 14, 1776.

Dear Sir: I last Night received your letter of the 11th. Instt. by Majr. Dehart.[3] I am much surprized that you should be in any doubt respecting the Route you should take, after the information you have had upon that Head, as well by Letter, as from Major Hoops who was dispatched for the purpose. A large number of Boats was procured and is still retained at Tinnicum, under a strong guard, to facilitate your passage across the Delaware. I have so frequently mentioned our Situation, and the necessity of your Aid, that it is painfull to me to add a Word upon the Subject. Let me once more request and entreat you to march immediately for Pitts Town, which lies on the route that has been pointed out, and is about Eleven Miles from Tinnicum ferry, that is more on the Flank of the Enemy than where you are.[4] Advise me of the time you will arrive there, that a Letter may be sent you, about your further destination and such other movements as may be necessary. The inclosed for Genls. Gates and Arnold, you will forward by an Officer without delay. The former I have requested to come on with the Regiments he has, with all possible expedition. The latter to go to the Eastward,

[2] The editor is indebted to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union for a photostat of this circular as sent to Brig. Gen. James Ewing, which is in the writing of George Lewis, with the last paragraph in that of Washington. The draft in the *Washington Papers* is entirely in Washington's writing, but lacks the last two paragraphs above. The Varick Transcripts note the circular as sent to Stirling, Mercer, Stephen, and de Roche Fermoy.

[3] Maj. William DeHart, of the First New Jersey Regiment.

[4] Lee wrote to Gates from "Basking Ridge" (December 13): "Entre nous, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation where I have my choice of difficulties. If I stay in this Province, I risk myself and Army; and

on the Intelligence received from Govr. Trumbull. Part of the Enemy have advanced as far as Burlington and their main Body, from the best information, is in the Neighbourhood of Trenton and at Penny Town. The Congress have adjourned from Philadelphia to meet at Baltimore, on the 20th. Instt., and sensible of the importance of the former, have directed it to be defended to the utmost extremity, to prevent the Enemy from possessing it. The fatal consequences that must attend its loss, are but too obvious to every one. Your arrival may be the means of saving it, nothing but a respectable force, I am certain from Melancholy experiance, can induce the Militia to come in and give their Aid. The Roebuck and a Sloop of War have arrived in Delaware Bay, and from the last advices were laying not far within the Capes. I have wrote to General Heath, to proceed with his Troops, with all possible dispatch to Pitts Town, where I hope to hear of the arrival of Genl. Gates with the Regiments that are with him in a short time, if my information is true. I am, etc.

P. S. The Letters for Genls. Gates and Arnold, I have sent by another conveyance.[5]

To MAJOR GENERAL HORATIO GATES

Head Quarters at Keiths, December 14, 1776.

Dear Sir: Before this comes to hand, you will have heard of the melancholy situation of our Affairs. I do not mean now to detail our Misfortunes. With a handful of men, compared to the Enemy's force, we have been pushed thro' the Jerseys, without being able to make the smallest opposition and to pass the

if I do not stay, the Province is lost forever. . . . Tories are on my front, rear and on my flanks. . . . Our counsels have been weak to the last degree. As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the General, I would have you, by all means go. You will, at least, save your Army." (See Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1201.)

[5]The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

Delaware. Genl. Howe is now on the other side, and beyond all question means, if possible, to possess himself of Philadelphia. His Troops are extended from Penny Town to Burlington; the main body, from the best advices, at the former and within the Neighbourhood of Trenton. I wish it were in my power to tell you, that Appearances were much against him; At present I confess they are not. But few of the Militia of this State have yet come out, except those belonging to the City, nor have I any great hope of their assistance, unless we can collect a respectable force; in such case perhaps they will turn out and afford their Aid. I have heard that you are coming on with Seven Regiments, this may have a happy effect, and let me entreat you, not to delay a moment in hastning to Pitts Town. You will advise me of your Approaches, and of the time you expect to be there, that I may meet you with an Express, and inform you of your destination and such further movements as may be necessary. I expect Genl. Lee will be there this Evening or to morrow, who will be followed by Genl. Heath and his division. If we can draw our forces together, I trust, under the smiles of providence, we may yet effect an important stroke, or at least prevent Genl. Howe from executing his plans. Philadelphia is now the object of our care, you know the importance of it, and the fatal consequences that must attend its loss. I am persuaded no Aid with you to give, will be withheld a single instant; your arrival may be a most happy Circumstance. The Congress have adjourned to Baltimore, but previously resolved that Philadelphia should be defended to the last extremity. Lord Stirling is going over to meet Genl. Lee, and concert with him a plan of Operations, I wish you could be there, and would advise you not to wait the slow march of your Troops. I am &c.[6]

[6] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters at Keith's, December 14, 1776.

Dear Sir: I last night received your favor of the 10th. instt. I am extremely pleased by the ready attention you have paid to my Orders and have only to request that you will proceed with your Troops, with all possible expedition, to Pitts Town, pursuing General Lee's route, and where I expect you will join him; loose not a Moment. The situation of our Affairs demands industry and dispatch on all Hands. Advise me from time to time of your approach, and use your best Endeavours to accomodate your Troops, and supplying them with provisions, supposing that the Enemy mean an impression. I am led to conclude from your Letter, that you would have advanced so far this way before I could have countermanded your march, that the return of your Troops could not afford much assistance, as their time of Service would be near expiring, if not out, 'ere they could arrive, and if we can collect our force speedily, I should hope we may effect something of importance, or at least give such a turn to our Affairs as to make them assume a more pleasing aspect than they now have. I am &c.[7]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER

Head Quarters, Bucks County,
State of Pennsylvania, December 14, 1776.

Sir: I have just received advices from Governor Trumbull, that a large Fleet of the Enemy's Ships of War and Transports were lying off New London, with an intent to make a descent on some part of New England. He desires me to send some

[7] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

General Officers, to take the Command of the Militia who are assembling to make the best Opposition in their power. I must therefore request, that you would immediately repair to New England, and take the Command at such place, as you may find your presence most necessary. I have ordered General Arnold upon the same Service, and beg you may Co-operate with him in such Measures, as will be most conducive to the publick good. If any Militia should have arrived from New England to replace those who have lately gone home, you will please to leave as many, as will in your Opinion and that of the Commanding Officer at the Highlands, be necessary to guard those passes, and take the remainder with you; or if you should meet any on their march up, you will please to let as many proceed as will be necessary for the above purpose (of guarding the Highlands) and take the remainder back with you. I am &c.[8]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL BENEDICT ARNOLD

Head Quarters, Bucks County, State of Pennsylvania,
December 14, 1776.

Dear Sir: Having received Advice from Governor Trumbull of the 6th. Instt., that a large Fleet of the Enemy's Men of War and Transports had appeared off New London, without doubt, with an Intent to make a descent either there or some part of the coast of New England, and he desiring that some General Officers might be sent to take the Command of the Militia who were assembling. I must desire that you would immediately repair to the States of New England, and in whichsoever of them you find the Enemy landed, or likely to land, that you will, in Conjunction with Major General Spencer, who I have ordered upon the same service, take such measures, as in your

[8] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Opinion will be most likely to give Opposition to, and frustrate the intents of the Enemy. I shall be glad to hear from you, upon your arrival in New England, with a State of Matters as you find them. I have full confidence in your exerting yourself in this as upon former Occasions, and am etc.[9]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters near Coriell's Ferry,
December 14, 1776.

Sir: I have before me your favor of yesterday and for answer would inform you that I shall most chearfully cooperate with you in endeavoring to save the Frigate Delaware, and for this purpose shall immediately inclose your Letter to Col. Cadwallader, with direction for Capt. Alexander with his Officers and a sufficient number of men to proceed to Phila. without delay in order to carry the Frigate out of your River before the opportunity is lost and am with much Esteem etc.[10]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN

Head Quarters at Keith's, December 15, 1776.

Dear Sir: About One O'Clock to day, I received your Letter of the 13th. and sincerely regret with you the unhappy fate of Genl. Lee.[11] I know his feelings upon the Occasion, and I know the loss our Country must sustain in his Captivity. The Event has happened. And I refer you, to the several Letters which I had wrote him, and to one which now goes to Lord Stirling,

[9] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman, who ended the letter "and am Sir yr. most obt. Servt.," but Washington in this instance changed it to "am Dr. Sir with gt. esteem and regd."

[10] The text of this letter was kindly furnished by J. Bennett Nolan, of Reading, Pa.

[11] This same day (December 15) Commissary General Joseph Trumbull sent the same news (Lee's capture) from Morristown, N. J.; Cadwalader sent it (December 15) from Bristol, Pa.

and who I presume is with you, and who was fully possessed of my Ideas when he left me, for the Measures you and he may judge necessary to adopt. I am &ca.[12]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 15, 1776.

Gentn.: With the utmost regret, I must inform you of the loss our Army has sustained, by the Captivity of General Lee, who was made a prisoner on the Morning of the 13th. by a party of 70. of the Enemy's Light Horse, near a place call'd Veal Town, in the Jerseys. For the particulars, I refer you to the inclosed from General Sullivan.[13]

The Spirit of disaffection that appears in this Country, I think, deserves your serious attention; instead of giving any Assistance in repelling the Enemy; the Militia have not only refused to obey your General Summons and that of their Commanding Officers; but, I am told, exult at the approach of the Enemy, and our late misfortunes. I beg leave to submit to your Consideration, whether such people are to be trusted with Arms in their Hands? If they will not use them for us, there is the greatest reason to apprehend they will against us, if opportunity offers. But, even supposing they claimed a right of remaining Neuter; in my Opinion, we ought not to hesitate a Moment in taking their Arms, which will be so much wanted in furnishing the New Levies. If such a step meets your approbation, I leave it to you to determine upon the Mode. If you think fit to impower me, I will undertake to have it done, as speedily and effectually as possible. You must be sensible that the utmost secrecy is necessary [both in your deliberations on,

[12] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[13] Sullivan's letter, dated Dec. 13, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*.

and in the execution of] a Matter of this kind; for, if the thing should take wind, the Arms would presently be conveyed beyond our reach, or rendered useless.

Your favors of the 13th. and 14th. Inst.[14] are this moment come to my hands; I am glad to find from the latter, that the Militia of Lancaster County are in Motion; and I am in hopes, that General Mifflin's appearance, in the different Counties, will have as good an Effect as it had in Philadelphia. I have received information, that the Body of the Enemy which lay at Pennington, under Lord Cornwallis, moved this morning back towards Princetown; if so, it looks as if they were going into Quarters; and this Corresponds with the Account brought last night by a Prisoner, a Servant belonging to Genl. Vaughan's family, who says he heard his Master talk of going soon into Winter Quarters. The Body, that lay at Trenton, are likewise filing off towards Allen Town and Bordentown, with their Baggage; which makes me conjecture, they are taking the Road to South Amboy. I have a Number of Small Parties out to make discoveries; and, if the Motions of the Enemy are really such, as I have mentioned above, I shall soon have information of it. In the mean time, my Troops are so stationed, as to prevent them from crossing the River at any place, without our knowledge. But, I am in great Hopes, that the disappointment in Boats and the lateness of the Season, which now begins to put on the face of Winter, will prevent their making any Attempt upon Philadelphia till Spring. This, however, should not in the least slacken your Exertions in making the necessary preparations for the Fortification and Defence of the City by land and Water; for you may be assured that will be their first and great object in the Spring. I have the Honor &c.[15]

[14] These letters are in the *Washington Papers*.

[15] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in Washington's writing.

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters at Keiths, December 15, 1776.[16]

Sir: About One O'Clock to day I received a Letter from General Sullivan, a Copy of which you have inclosed. I will not comment upon the melancholy intelligence, which it contains, only adding, that I sincerely regret Genl. Lee's unhappy fate, and feel much for the loss of my Country in his Captivity.

In respect to the Enemy, they have been industrious in their attempts to procure Boats and small craft, but as yet their efforts have not succeeded. From the latest advices that I have of their movements by some prisoners and others, they appear to be leaving Trenton and to be filing off towards Princeton and Allen Town. What their designs are, whether they mean to retreat or only a feint, cannot be determined. I have parties out to watch their motions, and to form if possible, an accurate Opinion of their plans. Our force since my last, has received no augmentation, [of course (by Sickness &c.)] other causes, [has diminished], but I am advised by a Letter from the Council of Safety which just came to hand, that Colos. Burd and Gilbraeth are marching with their Battallions of Militia and also that some small parties are assembling in Cumberland County.

By Capt. Murray,[17] who is just returned from his imprisonment, we are informed that Messrs. John, Andrew and William Allen[18] are at Trenton. The fact I suppose is to be

[16] On this date William Grayson wrote to Col. John Cadwalader, by Washington's direction, that information from a prisoner indicated that the British were preparing to fall back from the Delaware—their wagon train was reported as moving down toward Bordentown, N. J.—and requesting him to confirm this report and, if true, attempt something against the wagons. Grayson's letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[17] Capt. Francis Murray, of the Pennsylvania Musket Battalion. He had been captured at Long Island, N. Y.; was made major of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in 1777; taken prisoner again in February, 1778; exchanged in December, 1780; did not reenter the service.

[18] The Allens, from Pennsylvania, were sons of William Allen, who had been chief justice of the province from 1750 to 1774. Allentown was founded by and named

depended on, as Capt Murray is acquainted with them and saw them himself according to the report he has made. I have the honor &c.[19]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters at Keiths, December 16, 1776.

Sir: In a late Letter which I had the honor of addressing you, I took the liberty to recommend that more Battallions should be raised for the new Army, than what had been voted. having fully considered the matter I am more and more convinced not only of the propriety, but of the necessity of the measure. That the Enemy will leave nothing unessayed in the course of the next Campaign, to reduce these States to the rule of a most lawless and insufferable Tyranny must be obvious to every One, and that the militia is not to be depended on, or aid expected from 'em, but in cases of the most pressing emergency, is not to be doubted. The first of these propositions is unquestionable, and fatal experience has given her sanction to the truth of the latter; indeed their lethargy of late and backwardness to turn out at this alarming crisis, seem to justify an apprehension, that nothing can bring them from their Homes. For want of their assistance, a large part of Jersey has been exposed to ravage, and to plunder, nor do I know that Pennsylvania would share a better fate, could Genl. Howe effect a passage across the Delaware with a respectable force. These considerations have induced me to [mention the subject to Congress] wish that no reliance except such as may arise from necessity, should ever be had in them again, and to make further mention to Congress of the expediency of increasing their Army.

after him. Andrew had been attorney general of Pennsylvania, recorder of Philadelphia, and was elected to the committee of safety in 1775 and to the Continental Congress in 1775. He disapproved of independence and left the Congress in June, 1776.

[19] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets were inserted in the draft by Washington, who wrote "Sickness &c.," which Harrison expanded in the letter sent to "Sickness and other causes."

I trust the measure will meet their earliest attention. Had I leisure and were it necessary, I could say much upon this head, but as I have not, and the matter is well understood, I will not add much. By augmenting the number of your Battallions you will augment your force; The Officers of each will have their interest and influence, and upon the whole, their numbers will be much greater, tho' they should not be compleat. Added to this, from the present confused state of Jersey and the [bad] improper appointment of Officers in many instances, I have little or no expectation that she will be able to raise All the Troops exacted from her, tho I think it might be done, were suitable spirited Gentlemen commissioned who would [engage and lead on the people, for want of which, many good men and who would have readily enlisted] exert themselves and encourage the people, many of whom for a failure in this instance and who are well disposed, are making their submissions. In a Word, the next will be a trying Campaign and as All that is dear and valuable may depend upon the issue of it, I [think no measure] would advise that nothing should be omitted [to ensure] that shall seem necessary to our success. Let us have a respectable Army, and such as will be competent to every exigency. I will also add that the critical situation of our Affairs and the dissolution of our present force, (now at hand) require that every nerve and exertion be employed for recruiting the new Battalions. One part of Genl. Howe's movements at this time, I believe is with a design to distract us and prevent this business. If the inclemency of the Weather, should force him into Winter Qrs. he will not remain there longer than necessity shall oblige him; he will commence his operations in a short space of time, and in that time [a Sufficient Army] our Levies must be [raised] made up to oppose [them] him, or I fear the most melancholy of all events must take place.

The inclosed Extract of a Letter from the Comy. General will shew his demands for money, and his plans for procuring [proper supplies of] salted provisions, and a quantity of Flour from the Southward. The whole is submitted to the consideration of Congress, and I wish [that] the result of their Opinion to be transmitted him, with such supplies of money as [are] may be necessary for himself and the [Several] departments he mentions. [could be transmitted to im]

The Cloathing of the Troops is a matter of infinite importance, and if it could be [speedily] accomplished would have [most] a happy effect, their distresses are extremely great, many of 'em [are] being entirely naked and most [of them] so thinly clad as to be unfit for service. I must entreat Congress to write to the Agents and Contractors upon this Subject, that Every possible supply may be procured [they may have them made] and forwarded with the utmost expedition. I cannot attend to the business myself, having more than I can possibly do besides being involved in so many difficulties and affairs already, that I am obliged to neglect those coming properly within my own department, which is very injurious. I have the Honor, etc.[20]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, December 16, 1776.

Gentn.: I have just the pleasure of receiving yours of yesterday. I shall give the Deputy Qur. Master General orders, to have the Cloathing both new and old brought up to the Army, and have it distributed as it is most wanted; but you may depend, if the old Cloaths which have been so Charitably

[20] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in brackets are in the draft, but omitted in the letter sent, and are inserted as an example of the difficulties sometimes encountered by an aide in drafting a letter to Washington's satisfaction. The clear reading of the letter is obtained by ignoring the bracketed portions.

contributed by the Inhabitants of Philadelphia can answer the present Necessities of the other Regiments, that the New, shall be all applied to the Regiment particularly belonging to your State.[21]

I am glad to find the Militia from the Eastern parts of your Province, the lower parts of Jersey and the Delaware Counties, are turning out with proper Spirit; I hope with their Assistance we shall be able to check the Enemy, if they should still determine to pass the Delaware. I am, etc.

P. S. I beg you will by all ways and means facilitate and encourage the Recruiting Service, for on that every thing depends.[22]

To THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 16, 1776.

Gentn.: I was last Night honored with yours of the 11th Inst. inclosing Sundry Resolutions of your Board; I have also to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 23d November, which should not have remained so long unanswered, had not the continued Motion of our Army for some time past, put it out of my power to sit regularly down to Business. Indeed, I have now so much on my hands, and such a choice of difficulties, that I hardly know which first to attend to. I know you have had your difficulties too, indeed more than any other State, and you have therefore my thanks, not only for the Compleat arrangement of your Officers, for the four Battalions alloted to your Share, but for your determination to raise a fifth to be Commanded by Colo. Dubois.[23] As the Office of Aid

[21] Mifflin had sent 300 suits of clothes to Neshaminy Ferry; but as the council had used State clothing for the Continental recruits, it asked that a replacement for its regiment be made from these 300.

[22] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[23] Col. Lewis Dubois, of the Fifth New York Regiment. He was captured at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., in October, 1777; resigned in December, 1779; served subsequently as colonel of New York levies.

Major has been hitherto unknown in the Continental Service, perhaps by introducing it among your Regiments, umbrage might be given to the others, if they were not likewise provided with an officer of the same kind, and therefore to avoid disputes, I could wish the Matter might be waved.

Major Sheldon who Commands the Connecticut Horse, will return in a few days, he will either take the Troop with him from Fishkills, or post them where they are more wanted.

I thank you for the great Confidence you are pleased to repose in me, and you may be assured, that whatever Military Powers shall be intrusted to me, shall ever be exerted first to establish and then protect the Civil.[24]

I come now to answer yours of the 11th. When I ordered down Genl. Heath from his post at the Highlands; it was done in consequence of a Determination of a Council of General Officers, who agreed that we had no other means of Stopping the progress of Genl Howe, who was evidently making a grand push to make himself Master of Philadelphia. The advantages of keeping possession of the posts in the Highlands were not unattended to; we considered that the Enemy had thrown the Main Body of their Army over into Jersey; that they were about to make a Considerable Embarkation (which has since turned out to be against New England) and that it would take most, if not the remainder of their Army, to keep up the Garrisons at New York &c. and that therefore they had not a sufficient force left to attempt the strong posts at the Highlands, tho' only guarded [by Genl. Geo: Clinton with the force of the State of New York].

[24] The letter from the New York Committee of Safety stated: "The Delicacy which your Excellency has ever observed with Respect to the Civil Power of this State merits their Warmest Acknowledgments and will always induce them the more Cheerfully and Streneously to Cooperate with your Excellency in every measure that may be deemed Conducive to the public Weal." This letter, dated Nov. 23, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers.*

General Howe easily forced our small Army to retreat before him to the Delaware; but not finding Boats to transport his Troops, (we having had time and precaution to secure and destroy them), he seems by his late Motions to be moving back towards Brunswick for Winter Quarters [or intending a feint]. Upon this change of Measures, I have immediately ordered Genl Heath to return to Peekskill with General Parsons's Brigade. If he finds any of the Enemy's Posts at Hackensack or elsewhere weakly guarded he is to endeavour to beat them up. As the Inlistment of the greatest part of the Continental Army, expires on the first of January, every State must exert itself in forwarding the new Inlistments and procuring temporary Supplies of Militia, till the New Levies can be brought into the Field. I have the Honor etc.[25]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Qurs., State of Pennsa., Bucks County,
December 16, 1776.

Dear Sir: The Congress have been pleased to appoint Elisha Sheldon Esqr. of your State to be Lieut. Col Commandant of a Regiment of Cavalry; for the purpose of Raising them he now sets of for Connecticut. Having to pass thro' an Enemy's Country on his way there, I cannot think it prudent to advance him the Sum necessary for his Immediate use. I have to request you will furnish him with what Money he may want from the Treasury of your State or in any other way you may think best; which Sum you'll please to draw on the Continent, thro' me for. I am &c.[26]

[25] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in Washington's writing.

[26] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Qrs. near Corryels ferry, December 16, 1776.

Dear Sir: I received your favor of the 11th. Instant, advising me of the march of Parsons's Brigade from Peeks Kill to join us. I am now to acquaint you, that from information received of the Enemy's movements, it appears to me, that they intend leaving this part of the Country, and to retire towards Brunswick, and the towns continuous to it, perhaps for the purpose of going into Winter Quarters, [(if the whole is not designed as a feint)]; therefore, there does not appear, the same necessity for your advancing, as was conjectured at the time my Orders for your marching were determined on; For this reason, I should conceive it expedient that you return with Parsons's Brigade to your former Station; indeed the conduct of the Tories (as mentioned in your Letter) and the danger the Convention of New York have represented to me, which that State will be exposed to, has rendered this step the more necessary; You are to post these Troops in the most advantageous manner to answer the purposes of defending the Country from the incursions of the Enemy, and of curbing the insolence of the disaffected. However, previous to your departure from the Jerseys, I entirely agree with you in sentiment, that the Troops cannot be better employed than in surprising any of the Enemys posts either at Hackensack or the parts adjacent, that are so situated as to admit of a Strong probability of success; An enterprise of this sort, will encourage our Friends, and advance the recruiting service, which is a Circumstance of infinite importance. As to Colo. Vose, with Greaton's, Bond's, and Porters Regiments, I would choose they should move forward with all possible expedition, to join General Gates. With respect to the

Families of Mr. Inglis[27] and Mr. Moore,[28] who are desirous of going to New York, I cannot perceive any political objection; as I should suppose they are capable of doing less mischief there, than by remaining in the Country and giving intelligence to the Enemy; they ought however to be informed, that they will on no account whatever be permitted to return. I am &c.

P. S. I beg you will encourage the recruiting Service by every means in your power; I shall in a Short time send you Money for the different recruiting Officers.[29]

To COLONEL ELISHA SHELDON

Head Quarters, December 16, 1776.

Sir: The Congress having thought fit to appoint you Lieutt. Colo. Commandant of a Regiment of Horse, to be raised, and to empower me to appoint the Officers under you; reposing especial trust and confidence in you, and knowing how much your Honor and reputation depends upon the proper choice, I am willing you should have the Nomination of all the Officers (reserving to myself a negative of any one, and all such as I shall think unfit for that Service,) and doubt not you will be particularly careful in fixing none but Gentlemen of true Spirits and of good Characters; observing at the same time, that Gentlemen of Fortune and reputable Families generally make the most useful Officers.

You are immediately to repair to the State of Connecticut, and as soon as possible Nominate your Officers, and send them out on the recruiting Service, they are to be particularly attentive to take none into the Corps, but young, light, active men.

[27] Probably Rev. Charles Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York City. He was later Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia.

[28] There were so many loyalists by the name of Moore, it is difficult to hazard a guess as to this identity.

[29] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson. The parentheses, inclosed in brackets, were inserted by Washington.

The privates are to receive Twenty Dollars bounty, and a Suit of Cloaths on entering the Service, and pay as pr. Schedule annexed. They are to be raised to serve during the War, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

Each non-commissioned Officer and private is to be furnished with a good Horse, Saddle, Bridle and other Accoutrements belonging to the Horse Service, at the expence of the Continent, and I will recommend to Congress that the Commanding Officer be also furnished at the public expence, with the same, but cannot absolutely engage it, as I believe it is not customary.

In procuring the Horses, you are to have, no Stallions, mares, White or Gray Horses, but likely, serviceable Trotters of sufficient size; It is expected you will purchase them at the most reasonable rate, and not, upon an average, to exceed One hundred Dollars pr Head, carefully describing and keeping an exact account of the Cost of each Horse.

Saddles, Bridles, Carbines, Broadswords, Pistols and every other Accoutrement necessary (agreeable to a pattern herewith given you,) you will procure as cheap as possible.

Your Regiment is to consist of One Major, an Adjutant, Surgeon and Mate, and Six Troops; to each Troop, One Captain, One Lieutenant, One Cornet (Commissioned Officers) One Qr. Master, two Serjeants, two Corporals, One Trumpeter, One Farrier, and thirty four privates.

In order to enable you to defray the Expence of raising and equiping this Regiment, you are herewith furnished with a Warrant upon the Paymaster for the sum of 14,000 Dollars and a Letter to Governor Trumbull, to advance you such further Sums as may be necessary, on Continental account. In case of the latter failing, you are to advise me of it, and if no public Money is to be had in that Department from a paymaster to be

appointed, send a careful Officer for such Sum or Sums as may be wanted.

As fast as you can raise and equip a Troop they are to be sent to the Army under my immediate Command, agreable to the Resolution of Congress directing the raising of said Regiment.[30]

	Lawful Money
Lieutt. Colo. and Commandant	22.. 10.
Major	18.
Captain	15.
Lieutenants	10.
Cornets	8.
Adjutants	10.
Surgeon	
Mate	
Quarter Master	5.
Serjeant	4.. 10
Corporal	3.
Trumpeter	3
Private	2.. 10

The above is the pay which his Excellency will recommend Congress to establish for the Officers of Colo. Sheldons Regiment of Cavalry. Robert Hanson Harrison.

To COLONEL JOSEPH TRUMBULL

Head Quarters near Trenton, December 16, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 13th. Instt. came safe to hand. I have taken an extract of that part of it, which relates to the Business of your Department, and shall forward it to Congress by the first Opportunity, I can have no objection to your going to New England, instead of coming this way, upon the representation you have made of the necessity, and superior advantage arising from your going, and at the same time confiding in your Judgment in determining upon that plan of Conduct which will conduce most to the benefit of the Service.

[30] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

I am glad to find you have been making preparations for laying in a large supply of Salt provisions for the Army, and approve of your plan of sending to Virginia for flour, during the Winter, as I dont see but it may be rendered practicable; but these Matters will doubtless be fully answered by Congress, when they receive the Copy of your Letter, as also the necessary supply of Cash which you mention; in the mean time I think it will be very adviseable for you to borrow money in the manner you propose, till you receive the necessary supplies from Congress; indeed there is so little Cash in the Paymaster's hands here at present, that it is not in my power to afford you any assistance in that particular. As I conclude you have informed yourself sufficiently with respect to the Abilities and Capacity of Mr. Wharton,[31] I shall make no objection to the appointment, but only observe, that circumstanced as affairs are at present in the Jerseys, it will require an Officer of much sagacity and diligence to discharge the duties of that Office faithfully and to satisfaction. I have inclosed you a List of such persons in Virginia as I think will be most likely to supply you with Flour on good Terms. Mr. Wharton's acquaintance there will also help probably, to procure it with greater facility and dispatch. I thank you for your condolence on the universal Loss America has sustained in the unfortunate Captivity of Genl. Lee, and am with due Regard, etc.

Colo. John Tabb or Colo. Jno. Banister on James River.
Colo. Fielding Lewis on Rapehannock River.
Colo. Syme upon York River.
Mr. Thos. Lawson upon Powtomack River.

P. S. I shall send some money to General Heath for the recruiting Service.[32]

[31] Carpenter Wharton. Colonel Trumbull had appointed him his sole deputy commissary general.

[32] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 17, 1776.

Gentn.: Since I wrote to you yesterday, I have received Information that the Enemy are still moving downwards; and by their making Fascines, they either have not yet laid aside their designs upon Philada., or they mean to Quarter in the small Towns along the River; in which Case I suppose they would throw up small Works to prevent a surprise. In either case, if there are any Artillery or Stores at Billingsport, they should be immediately removed; as I find from a late Letter from you, that you have not a Sufficient Force to protect the Works that have been erected. I am, etc.[33]

To COLONEL ROBERT MAGAW

Head Quarters, December 17, 1776.

Dear Sir: As an exact Return of the Officers, with their Names and Ranks, and the Number of Non Commissioned Officers and privates taken at Fort Washington, will be necessary to carry an Exchange into Execution, you will please to furnish me with it as soon as convenient; And as Genl. Howe only transmitted me an Account of the Number of Officers returned by Sr. Guy Carleton under Parole from Canada, without specifying their Names and Ranks, be pleased to apply to Mr. Commissary Loring[34] for the same and send it to me with your own Return. I am &c.[35]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, December 17, 1776.

Sir: I would beg leave to recall your Attention to the proposition for the Exchange of Prisoners, to the several Letters I have

[33] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[34] Joshua Loring, commissary of prisoners, British Army.
[35] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

lately written on that Subject, and to inform you that I have not received such Officers in Exchange, as were requested by me.

I am persuaded, Sir, that this mistake has arisen from Mr. Commissary Loring's Zeal to facilitate the Business; but I would at the same time desire, that you would give him Orders, whenever any of your Officers are sent in by me, not to send others in Exchange, 'till he is furnished with a List from me, of such as I would chuse to prefer, which shall always be done, as soon as possible. For, as the Prisoners seldom pass my Head Quarters on their Way, it is not in my power to transmit such Lists by them, without occasioning their delay. If this Mode is not complied with in future, I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of stopping others from going in, as my Ideas and Expectations are by no Means answered from what has happened.

I inclose you a List of 7. Officers, who were sent in from Bristol on the 14th. and of two Officers and two privates who accompany the present Flag. As the remainder of all those who were in the State of Pennsylvania, are on the Road and expected here daily, I shall defer making a demand of those I would chuse in Exchange, 'till the whole come up. I am, etc.[36]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, December 17, 1776.

Dear Sir: Yesterday I received a letter from the Council of the State of Massachusetts by Major Shaw,[37] informing me he had in charge a few Indians from N. Scotia who were inlisted into the Continental Service; as they will be of no use to me here I have directed Mr. Shaw to deliver them into your Care, and request you will employ them in such a manner as you may judge most advantageous to the Service, and continue

[36] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[37] Maj. Samuel(?) Shaw.

them under your command till you hear farther from me. I am, etc.

P. S. These Indians may join those that come before that one Interpreter may serve; and the Waggon and Horses which attended them and bought at the Public expence may be applied to the Public use.[38] [MS. H. S.]

To LUND WASHINGTON

Ten Miles above the Falls of the Delaware,
December 17, 1776.[39]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 18, 1776.

Dear Sir: By a Letter just received from the State of Massachusetts (Copy of which you have enclosed), I find that they had ordered 6000 Militia to be immediately raised, and appointed the place of rendezvous at Danbury in Connecticut, where they are to meet Genl. Lincoln who is to take the Command. You will perceive from the Tenor of the Letter, that the Appearance of the Men of War and Transports off the coast of New England, did not seem to alter their Intention of sending the Militia forward, but I am inclined to think if the descent should really be made, they will find employ for them nearer home. If this considerable Reinforcement should arrive with you, I dont know how you could better employ them, or render more essential Service to the cause, than (after keeping a Sufficient Force to guard the passes of the Highlands,) by throwing such a Number over into Jersey, as would cover the upper parts

[38] In the writing of Tench Tilghman; the postscript is in that of Washington.
[39] See Washington's letter to Lund Washington, Dec. 10, 1776, *ante*.

of that province, and afford such support and Assistance to the well affected, as would encourage them to join you and keep the Enemy within streighter Bounds, than they at present are. You may depend, that the great end they have in view, is, to spread themselves over as much Country, as they possibly can, and thereby strike a damp into the Spirits of the people, which will effectually put a stop to the new inlistment of the Army, on which all our hopes depend, and which they will most vigorously strive to effect. To carry this plan into Execution, they have already extended themselves as far Westward as the Delaware, and if the whole of your Army continue on the East side of Hudson's River, they will have possession of all the Country between that River and the Delaware, which includes the whole province of Jersey and part of New York. As soon as you find yourself in a Situation to send a Force into the upper parts of Jersey, I would have you immediately communicate your Intentions to the people, with assurances that you will be ready to back and support them in any movements which they may make in your favor. I am certain that the defection of the people in the lower part of Jersey, has been as much owing to the want of an Army to look the Enemy in the Face, as to any other cause, tho' to be sure neither cost or pains has been spared to influence them against us.

Whatever Steps you take in this affair, I would wish you to consult and Co-operate with Genl. Lincoln, of whose Judgment and Abilities I entertain a very high Opinion. I would just add, that your attention should likewise be paid, to the Country between Peek's Kill and Kingsbridge, by affording some protection and countenance to them, you may draw supplies, and perhaps some Men for the New Army, particular attention should be paid to the Bridge at Crotons River, which

secures your Front. I inclose you a Letter for Genl. Lincoln which please to forward to him where ever he may be. I am &c.[40]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 18, 1776.

Dear Sir: By a Letter which I had this day the pleasure of receiving from the president of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, I find that that State and immediately upon my Application, ordered a Reinforcement of about 6000 Militia to the Continental Army, and that they had appointed you to the command. Give me leave Sir, to assure you, that this Appointment gives me the highest Satisfaction, as the proofs you exhibited of your Zeal for the Service, in the preceeding part of this Campaign, convinces me, that the command could not have devolved upon a more deserving Officer. If the particular Circumstances of the Eastern Governments (who are threatened with an Invasion themselves) should permit your proceeding on, you will join Genl. Heath at Peeks Kill, with all Expedition. I have given him directions how to dispose of your Men, which is to endeavour if possible to cover and afford protection to the upper parts of the Jerseys, and to the province of New York, below the Highlands. But I have desired him to consult and Cooperate with you in the Steps necessary to carry this, or any other plan into Execution. I am &c.[40]

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Head Quarters at Keith's, December 18, 1776.

Sir: I this Morning received the Honor of your favor of the 8th current, and beg leave to return your Honble. Council, my

[40] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

warmest acknowledgements for their early attention to my requisition, and assurances of support, such as shall be in their Power. Circumstances have varied much since I addressed you upon this subject, and being far removed myself from the rendezvous intended for this Reinforcement, when it was applied for; I have wrote to Major General Heath, to concert a Plan with Major General Lincoln and to form with him, such dispositions of the Troops as they may judge necessary and the exigencies of affairs require. Their arrival, I hope will be in due time and be attended with many important and happy consequences. Were it not for them, in a few days, by reason of the impolicy and fatal system of short inlistments, there would not be the least shadow of an Army, to check the operations of the Enemy.

I should be happy if there had been just grounds for the report of the Success of our Arms at Hackensack; but Matters have been intirely the reverse. By the expiration of the Service of the Troops, denominated flying Camp Men, on the 1st Inst. and their return Home; our force on this side Hudsons River (which before that period was not competent to successful opposition) was reduced to a mere handful. With this small Number, without deriving the least aid from the Militia, notwithstanding the earliest and most pressing Applications, I have been pushed thro' Jersey, by the Main Body of the Enemy's Army; and for want of their Assistance, a large part of that state has been exposed to all the effects of Ravage, and of the most wanton Plunder. The Delaware now divides what remains of our little force, from that of Genl Howe; whose object, beyond all question, is to possess Philadelphia; they have been industrious in their efforts to procure Boats, for their transportation; but the precautions I have taken have hitherto rendered their attempts unsuccessful. How things will terminate,

The Events I must leave to itself. As yet, I have received but little or no augmentation, except that of the City Militia, who have turned out in a spirited manner. Convinced that Philadelphia was the object of Mr Howe's movements and of the fatal Consequences that would attend the loss of it, I wrote for Genl. Lee to reinforce me, with the Troops under his immediate Command. By some means or other, their Arrival has been retarded and unhappily on friday last, the Genl., having left his Division and proceeded three or four Miles nearer the Enemy, then 18. Miles from him; of which they were informed by some Tories, was surprised and carried off about 11 O'Clock, by a party of 70 Light Horse; I will not comment upon this unhappy accident; I feel much for his Misfortune and am sensible that in his Captivity, our Country has lost a Warm friend and an able officer. upon the whole our affairs are in a Much less promising condition than could be wished; Yet I trust, under the Smiles of Providence and by our own exertions, we shall be happy. Our cause is righteous, and must be Supported. Every nerve should be strained, to Levy the New Army. If we can but procure a respectable one in Season, All may be well, and to this end no pains can be too great. The next Campaign will be of importance and the Issue may lead to happiness or the most melancholly of all events. I have the honor to be &c.[41]

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Camp, near the Falls of Trenton, December 18, 1776.

Dear Brother: In the number of Letters I write, the recollection of any particular one is destroyed, but I think my last to you was by Colo. Woodford from Hackensack. Since that period and a little before, our Affairs have taken an adverse

[41] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

turn but not more than was to be expected from the unfortunate Measures, which had been adopted for the establishment of our Army.

The Retreat of the Enemys Army from the White Plains led me to think that they would turn their thoughts to the Jerseys, if no further, and induced me to cross the North River with some of the Troops, in order if possible to oppose them. I expected to have met at least 5000 Men of the Flying Camp and Militia; instead of which I found less than one half and no disposition in the Inhabitants to afford the least aid. This being perfectly well known to the Enemy, they threw over a large body of Troops, which pushed us from place to place till we were obliged to cross the Delaware with less than 3000 Men fit for duty owing to the dissolution of our force by short Inlistments; the Enemy's numbers, from the best Accts. exceeding Ten and by some 12,000 Men.

Before I removed to the South Side of the River, I had all the Boats, and other Vessels brought over, or destroyed from Philadelphia upwards for 70 Miles, and, by guarding the Fords have as yet, baffled all their attempts to cross. But, from some late movement of theirs, I am left in doubt whether they are moving off for Winter Quarters or making a feint to throw us off our guard.

Since I came on this side, I have been join'd by about 2000 of the City Militia, and understand that some of the Country Militia (from the back Counties,) are on their way; *but we are in a very disaffected part of the Provence, and between you and me, I think our Affairs are in a very bad situation; not so much from the apprehension of Genl. Howe's Army, as from the defection of New York, Jerseys, and Pensylvania. In short, the Conduct of the Jerseys has been most Infamous. Instead of turning out to defend their Country and affording aid to our*

Army, they are making their submissions as fast as they can. If *they* the Jerseys had given us any support, we might have made a stand at Hackensack and after that at Brunswick, but the few Militia that were in Arms, disbanded themselves [or slunk off in such a manner upon the appearance of danger as to leave us quite unsupported and to make the best shifts we could without them] and left the poor remains of our Army to make the best we could of it.

I have no doubt but that General Howe will still make an attempt upon Philadelphia this Winter. I see nothing to oppose him a fortnight hence, as the time of all the Troops, except those of Virginia (reduced almost to nothing,) and Smallwood's Regiment of Maryland, (equally as bad) will expire in less than that time. In a word my dear Sir, *if every nerve is not strain'd* to recruit the New Army with all possible expedition, *I think the game is pretty near up, owing, in a great measure, to the insidious Arts of the Enemy, and disaffection of the Colonies before mentioned, but* principally to the accursed policy of short Inlistments, and placing too great a dependence on the Militia the Evil consequences of which were foretold 15 Months ago with a spirit almost Prophetick.

Before this reaches you, you will no doubt have heard of the Captivity of Genl. Lee; this is an additional misfortune, and the more vexatious, as it was by his own folly and Imprudence (and without a view to answer any good) he was taken, going three Miles out of his own Camp [for the sake of a little better lodging] and with 20 of the Enemy to lodge, a rascally Tory rid in the Night to give notice of it to the Enemy who sent a party of light Horse that seized and carried him with every mark of triumph and indignity.

You can form no Idea of the perplexity of my Situation. No Man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties and less

means to extricate himself from them. However under a full persuasion of the justice of our Cause I cannot [but think the prospect will brighten, although for a wise purpose it is, at present hid under a cloud] entertain an Idea that it will finally sink tho' it may remain for some time under a Cloud.

My love, and sincere regards attend my Sister and the Family and Compliments to [our friends at Fairfield] all enquiring friends. With every Sentiment of friendship, as well as love, I am etc.[42]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 19, 1776.

Gentn.: I am favored with yours of the 17th, inclosing the Resolution of your Board, respecting the Militia of Bucks and Northampton Counties; I shall in consequence of it immediately order the Colonels, to summon their Regiments to attend upon a Certain day, and I shall treat the defaulters in the Manner pointed out by the Resolve, unless a good and sufficient Cause of Absence is assigned.

Nothing ever amazed me more, than the Note said to be wrote by John Dickenson Esqr. to his Brother the General; if he applies to me to Shew him the Contents, I see no reason for refusing it, because he may easily be informed by applying to the Writer.[43] The Enemy having made no move of any Consequence, since I wrote to you last, I have only to recommend

[42] According to Doctor Toner, there was, in 1892, a letter of practically this same wording in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It also is in Washington's writing, dated Dec. 18, 1776, and addressed to Samuel Washington, Berkeley County, Va. The important variations in the letter sent to Samuel Washington appear herewith in brackets.

[43] Dickinson had written advising his brother, Brig. Gen. Philemon Dickinson, not to accept any Continental money in liquidation of bonds and mortgages and his letter had been intercepted. The text is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Series 5, vol. 3, 1255; an attested copy is in the *Washington Papers* under date of December, 1776.

your Continuing to exert yourselves in Stirring up the Spirits of your people, and making every necessary preparation for the defence of your City, while the Enemy leaves it in your Power to do it without Interruption. I have the Honor to be, etc.[44]

To COLONEL JOSEPH KIRKBRIDE[45]

Head Quarters, December 19, 1776.

Sir: The Honble. the Council of Safety of the State of Pennsylvania having, by a Resolve passed the 17th. day of this instt. December, Authorized me to call forth the Militia of the County of Bucks, to the Assistance of the Continental Army under my Command, I hereby require you, immediately to issue Orders to the Captains of your Regiment, to summon the Officers and Privates of their Companies to meet on the 28th. day of this instant, at the usual place for their joining in Battalion, with their Arms and Accoutrements in good Order, and when so met, march immediately to the City of Philadelphia and there put yourself under the Command of Major Genl. Putnam. And you are further required to make me an exact return of the names and places of abode of such Officers and privates, as refuse to appear with their Arms and Accoutrements, at the time and place appointed, that they may be dealt with as the resolve, above refered to, directs.[46]

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 20, 1776.

Sir: I have waited with much Impatience to know the determinations of Congress on the Propositions made some

[44] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[45] County lieutenant of Bucks County, Pa., and also colonel of militia.

[46] The draft is in the writing of George Lewis. This letter was also sent to Cols. Joseph Hart, Andrew Kechlein, Arthur Erwin (Ewing), and Joseph Sabitts, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

time in October last for augmenting our Corps of Artillery, and establishing a Corps of Engineers; the time is now come, when the 1st cannot be delayed without the greatest injury to the safety of these States, and therefore under the Resolution of Congress bearing date the 12th. Instt. at the repeated Instance of Colo. Knox, and by the pressing advice of all the General Officers (now here) I have ventured to order three Battalions of Artillery to be immediately recruited; this is two less than Colo. Knox recommends, as you will see by his Plan Inclos'd[47] but then this scheme comprehends all the United States whereas some of the States have Corps already established and these three Battalions are indispensibly necessary for the operations in this Quarter ([including] comprehending the Northern department). The pay of our Artillerests bearing no proportion with that in the English or French Service, the Murmering and dissatisfaction thereby occasioned, and the absolute impossibility, as I am told, of getting them upon the old terms, and the unavoidable necessity of obtaining them at all events, have Induced me (also by advice) to promise Officers, and Men that their pay should be augmented 25 pr. Ct., or that their ingagements shall become null and void; this may appear to Congress premature, and unwarrantable; but Sir, if they view our Situation in the light it strikes their officers, they will be convinced of the Utility of the Measure, and that the Execution could not be delayed till after their Meeting at Baltimore; In short, the present exigency of our Affairs will not admit of delay, either in Council or the Field, for well convinc'd I am, that if the Enemy go into Quarters at all, it will be for a short Season; but I rather think the design of Genl. Howe is to possess himself of Phila. this winter, if possible (and in truth I do not see what is to hinder [prevent] him, as 10 days more will put an

[47] A copy of Knox's plan for establishing a Continental Artillery, magazines, laboratories, etc., is with this letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. Another copy is in the *Washington Papers*.

end to the existence of our Army); that one great point, is to keep us as much harrassed as possible, with a view to injure the Recruiting Service, and prevent a Collection of Stores, and other necessaries for the next Campaign, I am as clear in as I am of my existence; if therefore in the short Interval we have to provide, and make these great and arduous preparations, every matter that in its nature is self evident, is to be refer'd to Congress, at the distance of 130 or 140 Miles, so much time must necessarily elapse, as to defeat the end in view.

It may be said that this is an application for powers that are too dangerous to be Intrusted. I can only add, that desperate diseases require desperate Remedies; and with truth declare, that I have no lust after power but wish with as much fervency as any Man upon this wide extended Continent, for an oppertunity of turning the Sword into a plow share. But my feelings as an Officer and a Man, have been such as to force me to say that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have; it is needless to add that short Inlistments, and a mistaken dependance upon Militia, have been the Origin of all our Misfortunes and the great accumulation of our Debt.

We find Sir, that the Enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected; this Strength like a Snow ball by rolling, will Increase, unless some means can be devised to check, effectually, the progress of the Enemy's Arms; Militia may, possibly, do it for a little while; but in a little while also, the Militia of those States which have been frequently called upon will not turn out at all or with so much reluctance and sloth as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey! Witness Pennsylvania! Could any thing but the River Delaware have sav'd Philadelphia? Can any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it), be more destructive to the recruiting

Service than giving 10 Dollars Bounty for Six Weeks Service of the Militia; who come in you cannot tell how, go, you cannot tell when; and act, you cannot tell where; consume your Provisions, exhaust your Stores, and leave you at last in a critical moment. These Sir are the Men I am to depend upon Ten days hence,—this is the Basis on which your Cause will and must for ever depend, till you get a large standing Army, sufficient of itself to oppose the Enemy. I therefore beg leave to give it as my humble opinion that 88 Battalions are by no means equal to the opposition you are to make, and that not a Moment's time is to be lost in raising a greater number; not less in my opinion, and the opinion of my Officers than 110; it may be urged, that it will be found difficult enough to compleat the first Number, this may be true, and yet the Officers of 110 Battalions will recruit many more Men than those of 88. In my judgment this is not a time to stand upon expence; our funds are the only objects of Consideration. The State of New York have added one (I wish they had made it two) Battalions to their quota. If any good Officers offer to raise Men upon Continental pay and establishment in this Quarter, I shall encourage them to do so, and Regiment them when they have done it. If Congress disapprove of this proceeding, they will please to signify it, as I mean it for the best.

It may be thought that, I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty to adopt these Measures, or advise thus freely; A Character to loose, an Estate to forfeit, the inestimable Blessing of liberty at Stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse.

I have heard nothing of the light Horse from Virginia, nor the Regiment from the Eastern Shore;[48] I wish to know what Troops are to [Act in] furnish the different departments and to have those from the Southward (design'd for this place)

[48] The eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay.

order'd on as fast as they shall be raised, the Routs should be pointed out by which they are to March. Assistant Commissaries and Quarter Masters upon the Communication to supply their Wants; the first or second Officer of each Battalion to forward them and the other to come on, receive, and form them at their place of destination. Unless this is immediately set about, the Campaign, if it should be closed, will be opened in the Spring before we have any Men in the Field. Every exertion should be used to procure Tents. A Clothier General should be appointed without loss of time for Supplying the Army with every Article in that way. He should be a Man of Business and Abilities. A Commissary of Prisoners must be appointed [to attend the Army]; for want of an Officer of this kind the [business of that department] Exchange of Prisoners has been conducted in a most shameful [and injurious] Manner. We have had them from all Quarters push'd into our Camps at the most critical junctures and without the least previous notice. We have had them actually travelling through the different States in all directions, by certificates from Committees without any kind of Controul; and have had Instances of some going into the Enemy's Camp without my privity or knowledge, after passing in the manner before mentioned. There may be other Officers necessary, which [I dont] my recollection at this time does not furnish [and which when thought of] but must be provided; for this Sir you may rely on, that the Commanding Officer under the present establishment is obliged to attend to the business of so many different departments as to render it impossible to conduct that of his own with the attention necessary, than which nothing can be more Injurious.

In a former Letter, I intimated my opinion of the necessity of having a Brigadier for every three Regiments, and a Majr. Genl. to (at most) every three Brigades. I think no time is to

be lost in making the Appointments, that the arrangement may be consequent; this will not only aid the Recruiting Service but will be the readiest means of forming and disciplining the Army afterwards; which, in the short time we have to do it, is of amazing consequence. I have labourd ever since I have been in the Service to discourage all kinds of local attachments, and distinctions of Country, denominating the whole by the greater name of American; but I found it impossible to overcome prejudices, and under the New Establishment I conceive it best to stir up an Emulation in order to do which, would it not be better for each State to furnish (tho not appoint) their own Brigadiers; this if known to be part of the Establishment might get rid of [prevent] a good deal of contention and jealousy, and would, I believe, be the means of promotion going forward with more satisfaction and quiet in the higher officers.

Whilst I am speaking of Promotion, I canot help giving it as my opinion that if Congress thinks proper to confirm what I have done with respect to the Corps of Artillery, that Colo. Knox (at present at the head of that department, but [who] without Promotion will resign) ought to be appointed to the Command of it with the rank and pay of Brigadier. I have also to mention, that for want of some establishment in the department of Engineers, agreeable to the plan laid before Congress in October last Colo. Putnam who was at the head of it, has quitted, and taken a Regiment in the State of Massachusetts. I know of no other Man tolerably well qualified for the conducting of that business. None of the French Gentlemen whom I have seen with appointments in that way, appear to me to know anything of the Matter. There is one in Philadelphia whom I am told is clever, but him I have never seen. I must also once more beg leave to mention to Congress the admisability [expediency] of letting Promotion go [be] in a Regimental line;

the want of this, has already driven some of the best Officers [that were] in your Army out of the Service; from repeated, and strict enquiry I am convinced you can adopt no mode of promotion that will be better receivd, or [that will] give more general satisfaction, I wish therefore to have it anounced.

The casting of Cannon is a matter that ought not to be one moment delayed, and therefore I shall send Colo. Knox to put this in a Train, as also to have travelling Carriages and Shott provided, Elaboratories to be established, one at Hartford and another in York, Magazines of Provisions should also be laid in; these I shall fix with the Commissary, as our great loss last year proceeded from a Want of Teams, I shall direct the Quarter Master Genl. to furnish a certain number to each Regiment to answer the common purposes thereof, that the Army may be enabled to remove from place to place differently from what we have done, or could do, this Campaign. Ammunition Carts, and proper Carts for Intrenching Tools should also be provided, and I shall direct about them accordingly; above all, a Store of Small Arms should be provided or Men will be of little use; the Consumption, and waste of these this year has been great; Militia, Flying Campmen &ca. coming in without, were obliged to be furnished, or become useless; Many of these threw their Arms away, some lost them, whilst others deserted and took them along. In a word, altho' I used every precaution to preserve them, the loss has been great, and this will forever be the case in such a Mixed and irregular Army as ours has been.

If no part of the Troops already Imbark'd at New York, have appeard in Virginia their destination, doubtless, must be to some other Quarter, and that State must, I should think, be freed from any Invasion, if Genl. Howe can be effectually opposed in this. I therefore Inclose a Memorandum given me by Brigr. Stephen of Virginia, which Congress will please to adopt in whole,

in part, or reject, as may be consistent with their Plans, and Intelligence.

That division of the Army, late under the command of Genl. Lee, now Genl. Sullivan, is just upon the point of joining us; a strange kind of fatality has attended it! they had Orders on the 17th of Novr. to join, now more than a Month! Genl. Gates with four Eastern Regiments are also near at hand; three others from those States were coming on by his order by the way of Peakskill, and had joined Genl. Heath, whom I had ordered on with Parsons's Brigade to join me, leaving Clintons Brigade and some Militia (that were at Forts Montgomery and Constitution) to guard those important passes of the Highlands; but the Convention of the State of New York seeming to be much alarmd at Heath's coming away, a fleet appearing off New London, and some part of the Enemy's Troops retiring towards Brunswick, induced me to countermand the Order for the march of Parsons's Brigade, and to direct the three Regiments from Tyconderoga to Halt at Morris Town, in Jersey; where I understand about 800 Militia had collected, in order to inspirit the Inhabitants and as far as possible cover that part of the Country; I shall send Genl. Maxwell this day to take the Command of them, and if to be done, to harrass and annoy the Enemy in their Quarters and cut off their Convoys.

The care and vigilance which was used in securing the Boats on this River has hitherto baffled every attempt of the Enemy to Cross, but from concurring reports, and appearances they are waiting for Ice to afford them a passage.

Since writing the foregoing I have receiv'd a Letter from Govr. Cooke of Rhode Island of which the Inclosed is a Copy,[49]

[49] Governor Cooke had written (December 8) that 78 British ships of war and transports had entered the harbor of Newport on December 7; that Rhode Island had been evacuated with the loss of about 20 heavy cannon, but the ammunition and stores had been saved; that 8,000 of the enemy had landed and were marching upon Newport,

previous to this, and immediately upon the first Intelligence obtain'd of a Fleets going, through the Sound, I dispatch'd orders to Genls. Spencer and Arnold to proceed immediately [without the least] delay to the Eastward. The first I presume is gone, the latter not getting my Letter till he came to a place called Easton was, by advice of Genl. Gates who also met my Letter at the same place, induced to come on hither before he proceeded to the Eastward. Most of our Brigadiers are laid up, not one has come on with the division under Genl. Sullivan but [are] left sick at different places on the Road. By Accts. from the Eastward, a large body of Men had assembled in Rhode Island from the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut; I presume (but I have no advice of it) that the Militia ordered from the first, to Rendezvous at Danbury (6000 in number) under the Command of Major Genl Lincoln for the purpose of supplying the Places of the disbanded Men of that State in the Continental Army will now be ordered to Rhode Island. In speaking of Genl Lincoln I should not do him justice were I not to add that he is a Gentleman well worthy of Notice in the Military Line. He Commanded the Militia from Massachusetts last Summer, or Fall Rather, and much to my satisfaction, having prov'd himself on all occasions an active, spirited, sensible Man. I do not know whether it is his wish to remain in the Military Line, or whether, if he should, any thing under the Rank he now holds in the State he comes from, would satisfy him; how far an appointment of this kind might offend the Continental Brigadiers I cannot undertake to say; many there are, over whom he ought not to be placed, but I know of no way to discriminate. Brigadier Read of New Hampshire [does] not I presume mean to continue in Service, he ought

Howland's and Bristol Ferry. Cooke called for reinforcements from Massachusetts and Connecticut. This letter is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1315.

not, as I am told by the Severity of the small Pox he is become both blind and deaf. I am &c.

P. S. Genls. Gates and Sullivan have this Instant come in, by them I learn, that few or no Men are recruited out of the Regiments coming on with them; and that, there is very little reason to expect that these Regiments will be prevaild upon to continue after their term of Service expires. If Militia then do not come in the consequences are but too evident.[50]

*To CARPENTER WHARTON

Head Quarters in Bucks County, December 20, 1776.

Sir: It being represented to me that the Millers, either from an unwillingness to part with their Flour, or the difficulty of obtaining Wheat from the Farmers, do not Imploy their Mills, by which means the Army under my Command is like to suffer for want of Bread. I do hereby Authorize and Instruct you to enquire into the State of this matter; with full powers if it should be found that the default is in the Miller, to Sieze the Mill and grain, and Imploy it for the use of the Public; and if it arises from any defect in the Farmer, to take his Grain for the Public Service, in either case paying the full Value of such Flour, or Wheat at the Mill where it is Manufactured.

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 21, 1776.

Sir: I am honored with your favors of the 7th and 12th of this Instant; The first chiefly relates to your Wishes, that the Troops of the State of Connecticut, whose time expires on the first of January, may, by intreaties and Promises of Reward, be induced

[50] The draft is in the writing of Washington; the letter sent is in that of Robert Hanson Harrison, which shows a few minor verbal variations from the draft. The words bracketed are Harrison's changes of Washington's draft.

to stay beyond their term. Past experience has repeatedly convinced us, that Troops, at the most favorable Season of the year and well supplied with every Necessary, cannot be prevailed upon to stay a day longer than what they engaged for; if that has been the case, under the Circumstances I have mentioned, it cannot be expected, that Men worn out with a fatiguing Campaign and in want of even necessary Cloathing, at the most inclement Season of the Year, will or can stay beyond their Engagement. Indeed, except they would inlist anew, or consent to stay a considerable time, I think they had better go home as fast as possible; for thereby, they will have time to have refreshed themselves, and when they have forgot their Fatigue, they will probably inlist again, time enough to take the field in the Spring.

I have felt for our unhappy prisoners, all that you express in yours of the 12th, and I have done all in my power to alleviate their distresses. Colo Miles procured a Supply of 8,000. Dollars from Congress to be laid out in Necessaries for them, which I hope would afford them some relief in that respect; but whether Genl. Howe can accomodate them better in point of Room, I will not determine. To be sure he cannot safely trust them abroad in a Country which he has but just taken possession of. I have already sent in, all or most of the Prisoners that were in the States of Pennsylvania, Jersey and Maryland, and made a demand of such Officers in Exchange, as I thought were best intitled to a preference, begining with those taken at Quebec under Generals Montgomery and Arnold. But General Howe, without paying any regard to my requests, sent out such as best pleased him or who made the most urgent Application. I have remonstrated Sharply upon this Head, and told General Howe in Express Terms, that unless he will agree to send out such only as I name, I will not send any more of his Prisoners in; But to this Letter I have recd no Answer.

However, that we may loose no time in getting a total exchange carried into Execution, I would recommend it to you to send all those in your State, immediately to the Commanding Officer of the British Troops at Rhode Island; taking Lists of the Names Corps and Ranks of the Officers and Number of the Privates, which lists must be Certified and Signed by the eldest prisoner Officer and sent in by him. One of these Lists to be immediately after transmitted to me, that I may make a demand of an equal Number, and a Line should be wrote by you, or some person deputed by you, to Genl. Howe, desiring him not to send any of our people out in Exchange for them till I make a Requisition.

When I reflect, upon what our Situation in this Quarter will be, in ten days from this time; I am almost led to despair. As I said before, I cannot count upon those Troops whose time is to expire upon the first of January. I am then left with a few Southern Regiments, almost reduced to Nothing by Sickness and Fatigue, to oppose the Main Body of General Howe's Army, laying close upon my front, and most assuredly waiting for the dissolution of our Army, to make as easy a Conquest of the province of Pennsylvania, as they have done of Jersey. I do not find the Militia of Pennsylvania inclined to give me as much Assistance, as they are able to do, were they willing; tho' I am endeavouring to bring them out by every Means, and am making use of both Threats and persuasions to gain my End. I shall draw the New inlisted Troops together as fast as they can be collected, armed and accoutred, but much cannot be expected from that Source for some time. If the four Regiments of Militia from your State and the Six Thousand Men ordered in by the State of Massachusetts, should arrive at Peekskill, General Heath will have a much larger Body of Men than he will have any occasion for at that Place, and I had determined that, they should cover the upper parts of Jersey, but under my

present Difficulties, I shall order as many as can be spared, to proceed thus far. The Necessity of the times must plead my excuse for calling Men so far from home, and at this Season of the year, who have an Enemy just landed upon their own Coasts, and have not even a Continental Regiment to Assist them; but I trust they will undertake this Chearfully, when they reflect, that they cannot ensure that Liberty which they have so nobly contended for, while our Common Enemy Maintains any footing upon any part of this Continent. I have the honor to be &c.[51]

To GOVERNOR NICHOLAS COOKE

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 21, 1776.

Sir: I have been Honored with your favor of the 8th Inst. The loss of Rhode Island gives me much concern, tho' an Event that could not be well guarded against. I am happy, that most of the Stock had been removed, and wish the Cannon could have also been brought away, our want of them being great by reason of our late losses. Notwithstanding this descent, and the Intelligence of more Ships going down the Sound; I cannot persuade myself, that the Enemy will attempt any thing Capital upon the Main, they will most probably confine themselves to the Island; But if they have other views, I trust that the Succours from the two Neighbouring States, with your own force, will be able to baffle their most vigorous Efforts and prevent the progress of their Arms. It would give me infinite pleasure, if the situation of our Affairs in this Quarter would allow me to afford you the Assistance I could wish, but it will not. All in my power to do, I have done. Upon the first intelligence, that a fleet was going down the Sound with Troops on Board, I wrote to Genls. Spencer and Arnold to repair to the Eastward and to pursue such measures as Circumstances should seem to

[51] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

require. My Letter to General Arnold did not get to hand, owing to the uncertainty of his route till he had almost reached this. He sets out to morrow Morning and I doubt not these two Gentlemen will render you many essential Services. In respect to the other aid, I cannot give you. The Delaware now divides our Small force from Genl Howe's Army, a large part of which is cantoned in the Neighbouring Towns, which from appearances and many concurring reports, is only waiting an Opportunity to pass. As soon as the Ice is formed, they will try to effect it; Genl. Howe's object, beyond all question is to possess Philadelphia and I could heartily wish, their was not too much grounds for some disagreeable apprehensions on that Head. Without more Vigorous exertions on the part of the people, than what have appeared of late, I see but little to prevent him from accomplishing his purposes. In the course of a few days, the last of this Month, the force I now have by no means equal to his, will by the impolicy and fatal system of short inlistments be reduced to a mere handful; Unless the Militia can be prevailed on to give their Aid. As yet but very few, those of the City excepted, have got in Motion, notwithstanding the most pressing sollicitations and apparent intentions of the Enemy, to invade their State and seize their Capitol. How things will turn out the event must determine, at present the prospect is gloomy. I have the honor to be &c.

To THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 21, 1776.

Sir:

* * * * *[52]

The distresses of our Prisoners in the hands of the Enemy gives me much Concern; their Sufferings by all accounts are

[52] The omitted portion of this letter is exactly the same as the entire letter to Governor Trumbull, Dec. 21, 1776, *q. v.*

extremely great. Ever since a Cartel was settled between Genl. Howe and myself, I have been endeavouring to effect an Exchange, as far as circumstances would admit of; but my attempts on this head have not been attended with but little Success. For those of their Prisoners, who were in the States of Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland and who have been sent in; Genl. Howe or rather his Commissary, has undertaken of his mere motion and contrary to my express requisition, to return a Number belonging to us, who were not called for and whose releasement, should have been postponed till after that of many others. I have wrote to Genl. Howe upon the Subject and presume in future, that none will be sent out but those who are named by me. That this Business may not remain an object of further delay, I would take the Liberty of recommending, that all the Prisoners in your State be immediately sent in to the Commanding officer of the British Troops at Rhode Island taking two exact lists of the names, Corps and Ranks of the Officers and the Number of Privates, signed by the officer of the highest rank; One to be sent in with him, accompanied by a line to Genl. Howe that the particular Prisoners belonging to us and to be received in exchange, will be required by me. The other List you will transmit me immediately, that I may make the requisition. I have the honor to be &c.[53]

*To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Quarters in Bucks County, December 21, 1776.

Sir: Having countermanded the March of the three Eastern Regiments under the Command of Lieutt. Colo. Vose, and

[53] This letter as printed in Force's *American Archives* has this additional paragraph: "It may be objected that the enemy's force, already formidable, should not be augmented; but the sufferings of our unfortunate people call for the exchange. The cartel has been agreed on and I am satisfied the [British] prisoners, when released and in arms against us, will not do us half the damage they would were they to continue. The influence of those who have gone from hence has been attended with the most injurious and pernicious effects." The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

directed them to Halt at Morris Town in the Jerseys where I am informed that Colo. Ford,[54] at the head of a body of Militia has taken Post.

You are to repair immediately to that place and take upon you the Command, not only of the above Regiments, but of the Militia also, and therewith to give all the protection you can to the Country, and distress to the Enemy by harrassing of them in their Quarters, and cutting of their Convoys.

You are to be extreamely vigilant and watchful to guard against surprizes, and to use every means in your power to obtain a knowledge of the Enemy's Numbers, Situation, and designs. If at any time you should discover that they are moving from Brunswick and that Quarter towards Trenton, or the Delaware in other parts, endeavour, if it can be attempted with a probability of success, to fall upon their Rear, and if nothing more can be done, annoy them in their March.

Every piece of Intelligence which you may think of Importance for me to know, communicate it without loss of time.

Keep up the Spirits of the Militia, as much as possible; and use your Influence with the Eastern Regiments to continue in Service, after the term for which they stand ingaged, expires; if in this you should fail, still keep the Militia together, and render what service you can with them; prevent all you can from joining the Enemy, and receiving protections from them, which, from experience, have been found to afford no relief from the rapacious, plundering, ravishing Soldier.

Give every Incouragement and aid to the Recruiting Service; let all those who are ingaged in that business above the Road leading from Trenton to Brunswick make your head Quarters their place of Rendezvous; and that Men may be raised as soon as possible besides the Officers appointed by the

Precisely the same letter, but without the preceding paragraph, was sent to the New Hampshire Legislature.

[54] Col. Jacob Ford, jr., of the New Jersey Militia. He died Jan. 10, 1777.

State of New Jersey for the Established Regiments, if you can meet with active, sprightly men, who you think could raise Companies, and are fit to Command them afterwards, you may authorize them to Ingage Men upon the same terms, and for the same time, the Continental Regiments are raised; but then I cannot agree to take them into pay, or be at any expence till they have got at least Fifty privates besides Non-commissioned Officers Inlisted, when this happens, and a certificate of it produced to me from you, the bounty shall be drawn, and the pay of Officers and Men commence.

To encourage the Captains in this business they shall have the nominating of their own Subalterns, subject however to my negative, if I find they have made an improper choice from local attachments and connexions, rather than public good; they will be allowed a Dollar and one third for every Recruit, for whom Certificates are obtained.

Fix with the Commissary and Quarter Master upon the Modes of supplying your Troops with Provisions and Necessaries before you go.

*To CARPENTER WHARTON

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 21, 1776.

Sir: Lay in Provisions for Twenty thousand Men, at the following Places, and in the following quantities.

At York	Four Months
At Lancaster	Two Ditto
At Mill Town	Ten days.

Besides the Provisions at these places, which are to be considered as Magazines, you should have some deposited on the Roads leading from Lancaster to Winchester in Virginia, and from the Head of the Bay to Alexandria in the same State, for

the accomodation of the Troops in their March from the Southern Colonies.

You should also so far look round you, as to know that there are, in the vicinity of Philadelphia and in the City itself Provisions enough to serve ten thousand Men at least Six Weeks but there will be no occasion as yet for large purchases, or large deposits in this Quarter.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Headquarters, at Keith's, December 21, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have been favored with yours of the 13th Instant and wish you may have succeeded in your intended Scheme to dislodge the Enemy from Hackinsack Bridge.

In my letter of the 18th I transmitted you a Copy of a Letter from the council of the Massachusetts Bay, advising that 6000 Men were coming from that State, under General Lincoln, to supply the place of the Militia which had returned Home, and of their Troops, whose time of Service will soon expire. At the time of writing, I thought it probable that their Reinforcement might be ordered to the State of Rhode Island, in case of an Invasion, and which I find has actually taken place; and therefore did not so strenuously urge that it should be sent here. Indeed, I had then hopes, from the Information I had received, that a large proportion of the Eastern Troops who were marching to join Me had reenlisted; but to my great Distress and Mortification, I find the report to have been without the least foundation, and that in the course of a few days I am to be left with a handfull of Men. I therefore request, that if these troops have come on to Peeks Kill, and also the four Battallions which I am advised by Govr. Trumbull have been raised in Connecticut to serve till the 15th of March next, that, after securing the

passes and Fortifications in the Highlands, with a Sufficient number (which I should imagine need not exceed 12 or 15 Hundred Men at farthest,) besides the forces which I apprehend will be provided for the purpose by the Convention of New York you will forward on all the rest with the utmost Expedition to join such Troops as I may be able to collect for the defence of Philadelphia. That City is now the object of the Enemy's Designs. Let me entreat you to impress the Officers and Men with a due Sence of its Importance in the present contest for our Liberty, and that without their speedy and early arrival it may be lost. I am perswaded these considerations will be duly regarded and urge them on to every possible exertion. As yet, but few succours belonging to this State have come in, nor do I hear that many are in motion, when they hear that other States are applied to, and pushing in Aids for their defence, perhaps they will arrouse from that lethargy which now keeps them back against the most pressing calls of Interest. In a word, Sir, my Situation, and that of our Cause, is critical, and truly alarming. Without vigorous exertions and early Succours I do not see what reasonable hope there will be to preserve Philadelphia from falling into the Enemy's hands, they will attempt to possess it as soon as the Delaware is so frozen as to admit of their passage; Appearances and many concurring reports agree in this.

I have received yours of the 15th, and am happy to hear of your success at Hackinsack, the Stores you got will be of great Service.

By a letter just received from General McDougall, I find he has been much indisposed, and is now at Morristown. I intend to write him to return to Peeks Kill to conduct matters in that department with General George Clinton requesting you and

General James Clinton to come on with the Eastern Troops which I have mentioned, if they have arrived at Peeks Kill, and it should be necessary for him to come. I am, etc.[55]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 21, 1776.

Dear Sir: I am this Evening favoured with yours of the 19th, from Chatham. I not only approve of the Disposition you made of the three Regiments under Colo. Vose, because I think it was a very judicious one, but I had previous to the Receipt of your Letter, determined upon exactly the same plan, and had sent orders to Colo. Vose, to halt at Morris Town, that he might afford protection to the well affected in that Neighbourhood and give Spirits to the Militia. If you find your Health such that you cannot take an active part where you are, or stay there, without further prejudice to it, I would have you return to Peeks Kill, and there, in conjunction with Genl. Geo. Clinton, take charge of that Department, as I have ordered Genl. Heath to join me with as many of the Connecticut and Massachusetts Militia as can be spared.

I think with you, that tho' your State of Health may require a Resignation, that this is not a proper time to make it. Our Enemies would probably attribute it to the late unfavourable Aspect of our affairs, and therefore I would advise you to try, whether a little rest might not contribute to the Cure of a disorder, which is generally brought on by Colds and Fatigue. I am &c.[56]

[55] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb. The letter sent, in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Force, in his *American Archives*, prints this letter as of December 22.

[56] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

*To ROBERT MORRIS

Camp above the Falls, at Trenton, December 22, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favour of yesterday[57] came duely to hand, and I thank you for the several agreeable articles of Intelligence therein contain'd. for godsake hurry Mr. Mease[58] with the Cloathing as nothing will contribute more to facilitate the recruiting Service than warm and comfortable Cloathing to those who engage. Muskets are not wanted at this place, nor should they, or any other valuable Stores (in my judgment) be kept in Philadelphia, for sorry I am to inform you, my dear Sir, that unless the Militia repair to the City for defence of it, I see no Earthly prospect of saving of it after the last of this Instant; as that fatal vote of Congress respecting the appointment of new Officers[59] has put the Recruiting business upon such a footing, and introduced so much confusion into the old Regiments, that I see no chance of raising Men out of them; by the first of next Month then, we shall be left with five Regiments of Virginia, one of Maryland, Genl. Hands and the remains of Miles; Reduced so much by Sickness, fatigue &ca. as in the whole not to exceed, but fall short of, 1200 Men. Upon these and the Militia, is all our dependance, for you may as well attempt to stop the Winds from blowing, or the Sun in its diurnal, as the Regiments from going when their term is expired.

I think with you Sir (that however missed you may be in Congress) your presence in the City cannot be dispensed with,[60]

[57] Morris's letter, dated Dec. 21, 1776, is in the *Washington Papers*. It shows that 856 blankets were forwarded to the army.

[58] James Mease, Clothier General of the Continental Army.

[59] The resolve of Sept. 16, 1776, by which the appointment of all officers (except general officers) and the filling up of vacancies was left to the States. (See *Journals of the Continental Congress*.)

[60] Morris was staying on in Philadelphia: "The unfinished business of the Marine and Secret Committees, I intended to confine myself to, but I hear so many complaints and see so much confusion from other quarters that I am obliged to advise in things not committed to me. Circumstanced as our affairs now are I conceive it better to take Liberty's and assume some powers than to let the general interest suffer."

I will give you the earliest information in my power of immediate danger; in the meantime, I advise for the reasons before mention'd that you detain no Papers you can possibly do without, for I am satisfied the Enemy wait for two events only to begin their operations upon Philadelphia. Ice for a Passage, and the dissolution of the poor remains of our debilitated Army.

Genl. Sullivan is just come up with the Troops under Genl. Lee, about 2000 Men. Genl. Gates is here, and a small division under him of about 600 expected to-day; this with about four or five and twenty hundred at most, herebefore, composes the strength of my Army (the City Militia excepted) but this under the rose.

Alas poor Lee! taken by his own Imprudence! We have no distinct accts. of him, if any should arrive, Mr. Tilghman or I, will communicate them to you. Insults accompanied the taking of him, since that I have heard that he was treated well by Lord Cornwallis to whom he was first Carried.

The Commissary (Mr. Wharton) informs me that, he cannot prevail on the Millers to grind; and that the Troops in consequence, are like to suffer for want of Flour; this if I understand him proceeds either from disaffection, or an unwillingness to take Continental Money in pay, which in fact is the same thing, this must be remedied by fair, or other means. With sincere regard etc. [H.L.]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Buck County, December 22, 1776.

Gentn.: I am honored with yours of the 18th and 20th. I am of opinion with you, that the Ships which made their appearance

(See Morris's letter to Hancock, Dec. 16, 1776, in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, vol. 2, p. 176.)

On December 21 Congress (in Baltimore) appointed Robert Morris, George Clymer, and George Walton a committee to remain in Philadelphia and transact all necessary business. They notified Congress (December 28) that they had opened an office for business.

in Delaware Bay, never intended to come up; unless to create a diversion below, and thereby draw your attention from the upper part of the River. But I hope the Weather will soon rid you of all apprehensions of an attack by Water, for a time to come.

Your Collection of old Cloathes for the use of the Army, deserves my warmest thanks; they are of the greatest use and shall be distributed where they are most wanted. I think if the Committee or some proper persons were appointed to go thro' the County of Bucks and make a Collection of Blankets &c., in the manner you have done in Philadelphia, it would be better than doing it in a Military Way by me; for many people, who would be willing to contribute or sell, if asked so to do by their Neighbours or Acquaintances, feel themselves hurt when the demand is made, backed by an Armed force. But I would at the same time remark, that if any, who can spare without inconvenience, refuse to do it, I would immediately give proper Assistance to take from them.

I have not a Musket to furnish the Militia who are without Arms; this demand upon me makes it necessary to remind you, that it will be needless for those to come down who have no Arms, except they will consent to work upon the Fortifications instead of taking their Tour of Military Duty; if they will do that, they may be most usefully employed. I would recommend to you to call in as many Men as can be got, for the express purpose of Working for we shall most undoubtedly have occasion for every Man who can procure or bear a Musket. In less than ten Days from this time, my Army will be reduced to a few Virginia and one Maryland Regiment, Colo. Hand's and the Regiments lately under Colo. Miles, all very thin; The Enemy are most assuredly waiting for that Crisis, and except I am strongly reinforced by Militia, nothing can

hinder them from reaching Philadelphia: I would therefore intreat you, to Collect every Man you possibly can, Send people out to contradict the reports that are circulated, that we have more Men than we want; from which, many perhaps that would turn out, if they thought there was a real necessity, remain at home.

I have ordered the Militia of this County to meet on the 28th and March to Philadelphia, that of Northampton as soon as possible and have directed the Colonels to make me a Return of those who refuse to appear.

It is necessary that, as the Militia come in, they should make a Return of their Numbers to Genl. Putnam; be kind enough to inform the Officers of this, and direct them to do it. Colo. Biddle[61] has given directions to Major Mifflin[62] to discharge all the Waggons not wanted for the removal of Stores, as we have a Sufficiency for the Army here. I am &c.[63]

To LEWIS GORDON[64]

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 22, 1776.

Sir: The Council of Safety for this State, have by their Resolve of the 17th. Instt. impowred me, to call out the Militia of the County of Northampton, to the Assistance of the Continental Army under my Command; that by our joint endeavours, we may put a stop to the Progress of the Enemy, who are making preparations to advance to Philadelphia, as soon as they can Cross the Delaware either by Boats or upon the Ice. As I am

[61] Lieut. Col. Clement Biddle. He was deputy quartermaster general of the Flying Camp; Commissary General of Forage of the Continental Army from July, 1777, to June, 1780; colonel and quartermaster general of Pennsylvania from September, 1781, to the close of the war.

[62] Jonathan Mifflin, brigade major of Mifflin's brigade. He was paymaster of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment; Deputy Quartermaster General from June, 1777, to 1781.

[63] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The letter sent, also in Tilghman's writing, is in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[64] Chairman of the Northampton County, Pa., committee of safety at Easton.

unacquainted with the Names of the Colonels of your Militia, I have taken the Liberty to inclose you Six Letters, in which you will please to insert the Names of the proper Officers and send them immediately to them, by persons in whom you can confide for the Delivery. If there are not as many Colonels as Letters you may destroy those that are not wanted. I most earnestly intreat you Sir, and the rest of the Gentleman of your Committee, to exert your influence among the people of the County and endeavour to make them turn out generally, in defence of their Capital; which will most assuredly fall a Sacrafice, unless the Militia of the Province contribute largely to its defence. Those who are so far lost to a love of their Country, as to refuse to lend a hand to its support, at this critical time, may depend upon being treated, as their baseness and want of Public Spirit, will most justly deserve. I am, etc.

P. S. please to make me a return of the Names of the different Colonels.[65]

To THE COLONELS OF MILITIA OF NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

Head Quarters in Bucks County, December 22, 1776.

The Honble. the Council of Safety of the State of Pennsylvania having, by a Resolve passed the 17th day of this Instant December, authorized me to call forth the Militia of Northampton County to aid and assist the Continental Army under my Command, I hereby require you immediately to order the Captains of your Battalion, to issue orders to the Officers and privates of their respective Companies to meet and join in Battalion, with their Arms and Accoutrements in good Order, at such time and place as you shall judge most convenient for that

[65] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

purpose. Taking care, that it may be as soon as you think such orders can reasonably and conveniently be conveyed to the people. And when your Battalion or any part of them, are so met, you are immediately to march to the City of Philadelphia, and there put yourself under the Command of Major General Putnam, or whoever the Commanding Officer may be; And I further require you, to make me an exact Return of the Names and places of abode of such Officers and privates, as refuse so to meet and march to Philadelphia, that they may be dealt with as the Resolve above referred to directs.[66]

To THE NEW HAMPSHIRE LEGISLATURE

Camp above Trenton falls, December 22, 1776.

Gentn: The accounts received from New York respecting the distresses of our prisoners, induce me to recommend to your Honble. body, that measures should be taken to effect an Exchange as soon as possible and as far as circumstances will admit of. Ever since the Cartel has been settled between Genl. Howe and myself, I have been endeavouring to accomplish it; but my attempts have not [*sic*] been attended with but little success. For the prisoners belonging to the British Army and who have been sent from Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, Genl. Howe or rather his Commissary has undertaken of his mere motion and contrary to my express requisition to return a number belonging to us, who were not called for, and whose releasement should have been postponed till after that of Others. I have wrote to Genl. Howe upon the Subject and presume in future, that none will be sent out, but those who are named by me. That this business may not remain an object of further delay, I would advise, that all the prisoners in your State be immediately

[66] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

sent to the commanding officer of the British Troops on the Island of Rhode Island, taking Two exact Lists of the names, Corps and Ranks of the Officers and the number of privates, signed by the Officer of the Highest rank; One to be sent with him accompanied by a Line to Genl. Howe, that the particular prisoners belonging to us and to be received in exchange, will be required by me. To which and I must request that the other acct. be immediately transmitted to me, that the requisition may be made. I have the honor to be, etc.[67] [N.H.H.S.]

To MAJOR GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER

Camp above the Falls of Trenton, December 22, 1776.[68]

Sir: When I wrote to you on the 14th instant, I had little doubt of receiving considerable support from the Militia of this

[67] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[68] On December 22 Reed wrote to Washington from Bristol, Pa., that Griffin had advanced as far as Mount Holly, N. J., with 600 men and that the main body of troops from Bristol would cross the river December 23 and cooperate with Griffin in an attempt on the British post between Bristol and the Black Horse.

"We are all of Opinion my dear General that something must be attempted to revive our expiring Credit give our Cause some degree of Reputation and prevent a total Depreciation of the Continental Money which is coming on very fast. That even a Failure cannot be more fatal than to remain in our present Situation in short some Enterprize must be undertaken in our present Circumstances or we must give up the Cause. . . . Will it not be possible My dear Genl. for your Troops or such Part of them as can Act with Advantage to make a Diversion or something more at or about Trenton. The greater the Alarm the more likely Success will attend the Attacks. If we could possess ourselves again of New Jersey or any considerable Part of it the Effect would be greater than if we had never left it. Allow me to hope that you will consult your own good Judgment and Spirit and not let the Goodness of your Heart subject you to the Influence of Opinions from Men in every Respect your Inferiors. Something must be attempted before the 60 Days expires which the Commissioners have allowed; for however many affect to despise it, it is very evident that a very serious Attention is paid to it and I am confident that unless some more favourable Appearance attends our Arms and Cause before that Time a very great Number of the Militia Officers here will follow the Example of those of Jersey and take Benefit from it. I will not disguise my own Sentiments that our Cause is desperate and hopeless if we do not take the Oppy. of the Collection of Troops at present to strike some Stroke. Our Affairs are hastng. fast to Ruin if we do not retrieve them by some happy Event. Delay with us is now equal to a total Defeat.

"Be not deceived my dear General with small flattering Appearances, we must not suffer ourselves to be lull'd into Security and Inaction because the Enemy does not Cross the River. It is but a Reprieve, the Execution is the more certain for I am very

State, and was taught to believe, that a large part of the old Troops (coming on with General Lee) had reinlisted: In the first, I have every reason in the world to fear a disappointment; in the latter, I find myself woefully deceived. It is easier therefore to conceive, than describe, the situation I am in, left or shall be, in a very few days, with only a very few Southern Regiments (reduced almost to Nothing) to oppose Howe's Main Army, already posted in such a manner as to pour in his whole Force upon us, so soon as the frost affords him a passage over the Delaware, and our numbers such, as to give no effectual opposition.

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clear that they can and will cross the River in spite of any Opposition we can give them. Pardon the Freedom I have used, the Love of my Country, A Wife and 4 Children in the Enemys Hands, the Respect and Attachment I have to you, the Ruin and Poverty that must attend me and thousands of others will plead my Excuse for so much Freedom."

This nervously written letter from the Adjutant General is in the *Washington Papers* and should be read with that of Reed's to Lee of November 21. (See note 69, p. 300.) Reed's family, according to William B. Reed, in his *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (vol. 1, p. 273, *note*), was at Evesham, which was not then in the possession of the British. Stryker's *Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (Boston: 1898), Ch. VI, describes the evidences that Washington's intent to move against the British took shape as early as December 14. Reed appears to have spent his time on December 25 in Philadelphia and galloping to Bristol, Pa., on that afternoon. He was not present at the attack on Trenton.

Griffin had moved across the Delaware with a part of the Flying Camp and gathered some New Jersey Militia at Mount Holly. His presence stirred up the British to a watchfulness that nearly defeated Washington's attack on Trenton.

The letter from Washington to Col. Joseph Reed, or John Cadwalader, dated Dec. 23, 1776, is deliberately omitted because of its doubtful authenticity. It is too evidently compiled from the various authentic letters to Griffin, Cadwalader, Reed, and Putnam of December 23, 24, and 25 for the purpose of connecting Reed as closely as possible with the Battle of Trenton. Sparks printed it from Wilkinson's *Memoirs* with the note that "it bears the mark of being genuine." Ford copied from Sparks. In Gordon's *History of American Revolution* (London: 1788), vol. 2, p. 391, is an extract of what purports to be a Washington letter of this period (no exact date is given) regarding the strength of the Army: "For Heaven sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us," but does not note this as being sent either to Reed or Cadwalader. Gordon also quotes, "necessity, dire necessity will, nay must justify any attempt etc.," but does not agree with the wording of the rest of the paragraph of the December 23 letter as printed by Sparks. William B. Reed printed the letter in his 1852 publication on the Sparks-Mahon controversy with the statement: "the original being in my possession, having been recovered since the publication of Mr. Sparks's work." Facsimiles of this alleged original are in Smith and Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities* (Philadelphia: 1847, and later editions), but they are more convincing of forgery than substantiating originality. The present whereabouts of the alleged original is undivulged.

Thus Circumstanced, it is a matter of concern to me, that in my last, I directed you to take back any of the Militia designed for the support of the Army under my Command, and have to request, that, instead of ordering the return of any of those that were destined for this Department (by order of their respective States) that you will hasten them on with all possible expedition, as I see no other chance of saving Philadelphia, and preventing a fatal blow to America, in the loss of a City from whence so much of our Resources are drawn.

With respect to yourself, you will proceed agreeable to the directions in my former; It is not possible for me, at this distance to lay down any particular Rule for your conduct, Circumstances and the advice of your Officers must Govern you, particularly that of General Arnold, who comes on to your assistance. I am &c.

P. S. Let me hear from you frequently.[69]

*To COLONEL SAMUEL GRIFFIN

Head Quarters, December 23, 1776.

Dr. Sir: I shall not object to your going to Philadelphia on Acct. of your Health, but wish it would have permitted you to have gone to Bristol rather, in order to have conducted matters there in cooperation with what I hinted to you as having in view here.

I fear their may be some little uneasiness about Command there, as some of the Continental Colonels have gone down with the Brigade that Marchd last. If you could only stay there two or three days to concert with Colonels Read and Cadwalader a Plan, and direct in what manner it is to be conducted I should be glad of it. I am, etc. [N.Y.H.S.]

[69] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

*To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Head Quarters, December 24, 1776.

Sir: Fix with Colo. Griffin on our Points of Attack.[70] In this, as circumstances must govern, I shall not interfere; but let the hour of attack be the 26th., and one hour before day (of that Morning).

I have wrote to Colo. Hitchcock to join his Brigade to yours and co-operate therewith. If you should be successful (of which I have the highest hopes) move forward if possible, so as to form a junction with me, if the like good fortune should attend our Enterprize, either at Trenton or Princeton.

Let your Men be provided with Blankets and three days Provisions ready Cooked. Most ardently wishing you Success I am, etc. [H.S.P.]

*To COLONEL SAMUEL GRIFFIN

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 24, 1776.

Dear Sir: The unfortunate mode adopted by Congress for the appointment of Officers under the New Establishment, has been big with every Evil; and among others with the most shameful delays; In short, so much confusion and uncertainty attend, the appointments, for want of an arrangement of the Officers, that I do not see whether we are like ever to recover from it; this has determin'd me in the present exigency of our Affairs, to encourage, by every means in my power, to raising of Men for Continental Service, and as your Camp may be a proper place to set a Work of this sort on foot, I wish you would select such persons as you shall judge fit to Command Companies in the first place, and likely to raise them in the next, and

[70] Against the British near the Black Horse.

promise them in my Name, that if they can raise Companies upon the Continental terms, and establishment, or even if they can Ingage Fifty privates, I will immediately, upon a certificate thereof from you, take both Officers and Men into pay, allow the Officers the Dollar and third for every man they enlist,[71] and the Men their Bounty of twenty Dollars &ca.

You will observe, I do not mean to take either Officers or Men into pay, till at least fifty are engaged to a Company and a Certificate obtaind of it; because as I intend these in aid of the 88 Battalions voted by Congress, I cannot consent to burthen the Continent with the expence of an additional number of Officers unless they are accompanied with Men; these companies are to be raised upon the same terms, and for the same time of the other Battalions, and will, as they are raised, be Regimented. As an Incouragement to the Captains, they may nominate their own Subalterns; but then, I will reserve the right of Negativing them in case I find their choice falls upon improper persons from local attachments, rather than the public good. If you can set Eight Companies of this kind on foot, and will facilitate the recruiting of them, I think I can undertake to engage you the Regiment, and a principal share in the nomination of the Field Officers. In this Work you are to recollect, that, no Officers already appointed in the New establishment are to be withdrawn from it, least Confusion should be introduced[72] thereby, and that my wish and desire is, that these Companies may be raised as far as possible in the Jerseys. At present I shall only add that I am with great esteem, etc.[73]

[71] Washington wrote "for recruiting" and Harrison changed it to "for every man they enlist."

[72] Washington wrote "is introduced"; Harrison changed it as above.

[73] The letter sent is in Robert Hanson Harrison's writing and is in the archives of the New York Historical Society.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS MILITIA ON THEIR MARCH TO PEEKSKILL

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 24, 1776.

Dear Sir: The necessity of collecting a body of Troops, to supply the place of those, whose term of inlistment expires on the first of next month, obliges me to press you to march forward, with as much Expedition as possible, to this place, or wherever my head Quarters may be, with such part of the Troops under your Command, as may be judged expedient, and agreeable to the order I have already lodged with Generals Heath and Spencer. I am &c.[74]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 24, 1776.

Sir: That I should dwell upon the Subject of our distresses cannot be more disagreeable to Congress, than it is painful to my self. The alarming Situation to which our affairs are reduced, impells me to the Measure. Inquiry and investigation, which in most cases serve to develop and point out a remedy, in ours, present more and greater difficulties. till of late I was led to hope from reports, that no inconsiderable part of the [Eastern] Troops, composing the Regiments that were with Genl. Lee, and those from Ticonderoga under General Gates, had enlisted again. This intelligence, I confess, gave me reason to expect that I should have at the expiration of the present year, a force somewhat more respectable than what I find will be the case. having examined into the State of those Regiments, I am

[74] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson.

authorized to say from the information of their Officers, that but very few of their Men have inlisted. Those who have, are of the Troops from Ticonderoga and were permitted to visit their friends and Homes, as part of the Terms on which they would reengage. In respect to those who Marched with Genl. Lee, I cannot learn that any have. Their refusal I am told, has not proceeded more from an aversion to the Service or any fixed determination not to engage again, than from their wishes to return Home; the nonappointment of Officers in some instances, the turning out of good and putting in of bad in others, and the in-compleat or rather no arrangement of them; A work unhappily committed to the Management of their States; Nor have I the most distant prospect of retaining them a moment longer than the last of this Instant, notwithstanding the most pressing sollicitations and the obvious necessity for it. By the departure of these Regiments, I shall be left with Twelve from Virginia, Smallwoods from Maryland, a small part of Rawlins's, Hand's from Pennsylvania, a part of Ward's from Connecticut and the German Battalion, amounting in the whole at this time from Fourteen to Fifteen hundred effective Men. This handfull, and such Militia as may choose to join me, will then compose our Army.[75]

When I reflect upon these things, they fill me with much concern, knowing that General Howe has a Number of Troops cantoned in the Towns bordering on and near the Delaware, his intentions to pass as soon as the ice is Sufficiently formed, to

[75] The general return of the Army (December 22) shows a total of rank and file fit for duty of 4,707; but with sick, present, and absent, 3,270, on command and furlough, 3,039, the force fit for duty should be 3,797; the officers and noncommissioned officers brings the total to 3,966. Sparks points out that this return did not include the four regiments just arrived from the northern army, nor Lee's division now commanded by Sullivan, nor the Pennsylvania Militia under General Cadwalader at Bristol, Pa. The four regiments, having been greatly reduced by disease, amounted to about 1,200, Cadwalader's militia to 1,800, and Sullivan's division to about 3,000. This return is printed in Force's *American Archives*, Fifth Series, vol. 3, 1401.

invade Pennsylvania, and to possess himself of [the City of] Philadelphia, if Possible. To guard against his designs, and the execution of them; shall employ my every exertion, but how is this to be done? As yet, but few Militia have gone to Philadelphia; and they are to be our Support at this alarming crisis. Had I entertained a doubt of General Howes intentions to pass the Delaware [up]on the dissolution of our Army and as soon as the ice is made, it would be now done away. An intercepted letter from a Gentleman of Philadelphia who has joined the Enemy, to his Friend and Partner in the City, declares that to be their design, that the Army would be there, in Ten or Twenty days from the 16th. Instt. the time of his writing, if the ice should be made, advises him by no means to remove their Stores that they would be safe.

The obstacles which have arisen to the raising of the New Army, from the mode of appointing the Officers, induce me to hope, if Congress resolve on an additional number of Battalions to those already voted, that they will devise some other rule by which the Officers, especially the Field Officers, should be appointed. In case an augmentation should be made to the Eastern Regiments, a deviation from the former mode, will operate more strongly as to them, than to other Battalions; Because there have been many more Officers in service from those States, than the Regiments voted to be raised would admit of, by which means several deserving Men could not have been provided for, had the utmost pains been used for the purpose, and many others of great merit have been neglected in the late appointments and those of little worth and less experience, put in their places, or promoted over their Heads. This has been the case with many of the best Officers.

The inclosed Letter from the Paymaster General, will shew the state of the Military Chest and the necessity of a large and

immediate supply of Cash. The advances to the Officers for bounty and the recruiting service are great, besides the Regiments, at the expiration of this Month, will require payment of their claims. At the same time it will shew the justice of the clamours, made by some [of the] Officers respecting their pay, and the abuses they have practiced [that have resulted from an attention to them].[76] Whenever they have not been paid, it was because their Abstracts were not made up. I am &c.

PS If the public papers have been removed from Philadelphia, I hope those which I sent by Lieut. Colo Reed before we left New York, have not been forgot. (If they have not, I beg the favor of you to break open the Chest and send me the Several Letter Books sealed up, having frequent occasion to refer to 'em.)[77]

To THE PASSAMAQUODDY CHIEFS

December 24, 1776.

Brothers of Passamaquody: I am glad to hear by Major Shaw, that you accepted of the chain of friendship which I sent you last February from Cambridge, and that you are determined to keep it bright and unbroken.

When I first heard that you refused to send any of your warriours to my assistance, when called upon by our brothers of St. John's, I did not know what to think; I was afraid that some enemy had turned your hearts against me. But I am since informed that all your young men were employed in hunting, which was the reason for their not coming. This has made my mind easy, and I hope you will always in future join with your brothers of St. John's and Penobscot, when required.

[76] The words in brackets are in the draft but not in the letter sent.

[77] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The words in parentheses in the P. S. are in the letter sent but not in the draft.

I have desired my brother, the Governor of Massachusetts-Bay, to pay you the money which Captain Smith promised you for sending my letters to the Mickmac Indians.

Brothers: I have a piece of news to tell you, which I hope you will attend to. Our enemy, the King of Great Britain, endeavoured to stir up all the Indians from Canada to South-Carolina against us. But our brethren of the Six Nations, and their allies the Shawanese and Delawares, would not hearken to the advice of the messengers sent among them, but kept fast hold of our ancient covenant chain. The Cherokees and Southern tribes were foolish enough to listen to them, and to take up the hatchet against us; upon which our warriours went into their country, burnt their houses, destroyed their corn, and obliged them to sue for peace, and give hostages for their future good behaviour.

Now, brothers, never let the King's wicked counsellors turn your hearts against me and your brethren of this country, but bear in mind what I told you last February, and what I tell you now.

In token of my friendship I send you this from my Army on the banks of the great river Delaware.[78]

To THE ST. JOHN'S INDIANS

On the banks of the great river Delaware,
December 24, 1776.

Brothers of the St. John's Tribe: It gave me great pleasure to hear from Major Shaw, that you kept the chain of friendship, which I sent you from Cambridge in February last, bright and unbroken.

I am glad to hear that you have made a treaty of peace with your brothers and neighbours of the Massachusetts-Bay, who

[78] The text is from Force's *American Archives*. No copy is found in the *Washington Papers*. (See Washington's message to the St. John's Indians, Dec. 24, 1776, *post*.)

have, agreeable to your desire, established a truck house at St. John's, out of which they will furnish you with every thing you want, and take your furs in return.

My good friends and brothers, Governour Pierre Temna and the warriours that came with him,[79] shall be taken good care of, and when they want to return home, they and our brothers of Penobscot shall be furnished with every thing necessary for their journey. * * *[80]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters, December 25, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have your obliging favors of the 21st.[81] and 23d. the Blankets are come to hand, but I would not have any of the other Goods sent on, till you hear again from me.

I agree with you, that it is in vain to ruminate upon, or even reflect upon the Authors or Causes of our present Misfortunes, we should rather exert ourselves, and look forward with Hopes, that some lucky Chance may yet turn up in our Favour. Bad as our prospects are, I should not have the least doubt of Success in the End, did not the late Treachery and defection of those who stood foremost in the Opposition, while Fortune smiled upon us, make me fearful that many more will follow their Example, who by using their Influence with some, and working upon the Fears of others, may extend the Circle so as to take in whole Towns, Counties, nay Provinces. Of this we have a

[79] Chief Pierre Temna was accompanied by 12 other Indians. Maj. Samuel Shaw brought them to camp with a letter from the Massachusetts Council, dated November 26. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[80] The text is from Force's *American Archives*. The omitted portion is practically the same as the last half of Washington's letter to the Passamaquoddy Chiefs, Dec. 24, 1776, *q. v.* No copy is found in the *Washington Papers*.

[81] Congress had adjourned to Baltimore (December 12) on the near approach of the British, and Robert Morris had written (December 21) that he was the only Delegate left in Philadelphia.

recent Instance in Jersey, and I wish many parts of Pennsylvania may not be ready to receive the Yoke.

The Security of the Continental Ships of War in Delaware is certainly a capital Object, and yet to draft, the many hands necessary to fit them out, from the Militia, might be dangerous just now, perhaps in a little time hence, their places may be supplied with Country Militia, and then if the exigency of Affairs requires it, they certainly ought to be spared.

I will just hint to you a proposition that was made or rather talked of a few days ago by the Officers of two New England Regiments whose time of Service will expire on the first of January, They are most of them Watermen, and they said their Men would willingly go on Board the Frigates and navigate them round to any of the ports in New England, if it was thought they would be safer there than in Delaware. You may think of this, and let me hear from you on the Subject, if the proposition pleases you. Lieutenant Boger of the Navy is already gone in and I have made a demand of Lieutenant Josiah[82] in Exchange, but I have not heard whether Lord Howe accedes to it. I will procure the Release of Docr. Hodge[83] as soon as it can be done without injuring others by giving him the preference, as I have always made it a rule to demand those first who have been longest in Captivity. I will take the same Steps in regard to Mr. Jones, commander of the Ship taken by the Andrew Doria.

I shall take the earliest Opportunity of sending in your Letter to Genl. Lee with the Bill drawn upon Major Small.

From an intercepted Letter from a person in the Secrets of the Enemy, I find their Intentions are to cross Delaware as soon as the Ice is sufficiently strong. I mention this that you may take

[82] Lieut. James Josiah, of the United States Navy.

[83] Dr. Hugh Hodge, surgeon of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. He had been taken prisoner at Fort Washington, N. Y., on November 16.

the necessary Steps for the Security of such public and private property as ought not to fall into their hands, should they make themselves Masters of Philada. of which they do not seem to entertain the least doubt.

I hope the next Christmas will prove happier than the present to you and to Dear Sir, etc.

P. S. I would just ask whether you think Christeen a safe Place for our Stores? do not you think they would be safer at Lancaster or somewhere inland.[84]

To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Head Quarters, December 25, 1776.

Sir: I have your's of Yesterday and have no doubt of your doing every thing in your power to promote the Enterprize which I wish you may do as far as you see consistent with propriety.

If nothing more is adviseable a Diversion may facilitate the attempt above. The Dover Militia you may keep to assist you. Genl. Putnam will have Instructions how to dispose of the rest, I wish Colo. Reed may see Colo. Griffin before his men are Dispers'd. Should any Occurrence of Moment happen, you'll please advise me of it immediately. I am, etc.[85] [H.S.P.]

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Camp above Trenton Falls, December 25, 1776.[86]

Dear Sir: I am glad to hear by your Son, that you are getting better again. If I had not been well convinced before of the

[84] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[85] In the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[86] Stryker, in his *Battles of Trenton and Princeton* (p. 113), states that early on Christmas morning Washington issued the following orders for the march on Trenton. He does not state his source:

"Each brigade to be furnished with two good guides. General Stephen's brigade to form the advance party, and to have with them a detachment of the artillery without cannon, provided with spikes and hammers to spike up the enemies' cannon in case

Enemy's Intention of possessing themselves of Philadelphia, so soon as the frost will form Ice hard enough to transport them, and their Artillery across the Delaware, I have an intercepted Letter which puts the matter beyond a doubt.

If therefore the Citizens of Philadelphia have any regard for the Town, not a moments time is to be lost in putting it in the best posture of defence possible; but least this should not be done, I would have the public Stores of every kind that can be, removed, except such as may be necessary for immediate use, and except Provisions.

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of necessity, or to bring them off it is can be effected, the party to be provided with drag-ropes for the purpose of dragging off the cannon. General Stephen is to attack and force the enemy's guards and seize such posts as may prevent them from forming in the streets, and in case they are annoyed from the houses to set them on fire. The brigades of Mercer and Lord Stirling, under the command of Major General Greene, to support General Stephen. This is the 2d division or left wing of the army and to march by the way of the Pennington road.

"St. Clair's, Glover's, and Sargent's brigades, under Major General Sullivan, to march by the River Road. This is the first division of the army, and to form the right wing. Lord Stirling's brigade to form the reserve of the left wing, and General St. Clair's brigade the reserve of the right wing. These reserves to form a second line in conjunction, or a second line to each division, as circumstances may require. Each brigadier to make the colonels acquainted with the posts of their respective regiments in the brigade, and the major-generals will inform them of the posts of the brigades in the line. Four pieces of artillery to march at the head of each column; three pieces at the head of the second brigade of each division; and two pieces with each of the reserves. The troops to be assembled one mile back of McKonkey's Ferry, and as soon as it begins to grow dark the troops to be marched to McKonkey's Ferry, and embark on board the boats in following order under the direction of Colonel Knox.

"General Stephen's brigade, with the detachment of artillerymen, to embark first; General Mercer's next; Lord Stirling's next; General Fermoy's next, who will march into the rear of the second division and file off from the Pennington to the Princeton road in such direction that he can with the greatest ease and safety secure the passes between Princeton and Trenton. The guides will be the best judges of this. He is to take two pieces of artillery with him. St. Clair's, Glover's, and Sargent's brigades to embark in order. Immediately upon their debarkation, the whole to form and march in subdivisions from the right. The commanding officers of regiments to observe that the divisions be equal and that proper officers be appointed to each. A profound silence to be enjoined, and no man to quit his ranks on the pain of death. Each brigadier to appoint flanking parties; the reserve brigades to appoint the rear-guards of the columns; the head of the columns to be appointed to arrive at Trenton at five o'clock.

"Captain Washington and Captain Flahaven, with a party of forty men each, to march before the divisions and post themselves on the road about three miles from Trenton, and make prisoners of all going in or coming out of town.

"General Stephen will appoint a guard to form a chain of sentries round the landing-place at a sufficient distance from the river to permit the troops to form, this guard not to suffer any person to go in or come out, but to detain all persons who attempt either. This guard to join their brigade when the troops are all over."

I think the Stores should go towards Lancaster instead of Christeen Bridge, unless they can be water borne (at this time to the Bridge) and readily transported from thence into the Country; Should not this be the case may they not easily be seized at Christeen? I think they may; but this matter should be inquired into.

I am sorry Colo. Griffin has left the Jerseys, some active Officer of Influence, ought in my opinion, to repair there to inspirit the people, and keep the Militia from disbanding, and if possible to encourage them to assemble.

Let me know the exact State and Strength of the Militia with you, that I may know how to govern myself, also of the expectation you have of more coming in. I am &ca.

[P. S. If a Party of Militia from Philadelphia could be sent over to support the Jersey Militia about Mt. Holly would it not serve to prevent them from Submission? I wish you could get Colo. Forman, and endeavour in my name to prevail upon him to exert himself in this business. I want to see him Myself much on this Acct. Pray send the Letter to Mr. Hancock by Express, if the Post does not set out immediately for Baltimore.][87]

To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

McKonkey's Ferry,[88] Six o'clock P. M.,
December 25, 1776.

Dear Sir: Notwithstanding the discouraging Accounts I have received from Col. Reed of what might be expected from the Operations below, I am determined, as the Night is favourable,

[87] The draft is in the writing of George Lewis; the P. S., in brackets, is in Washington's writing.

[88] Stryker refers to a Johnson's Ferry which he distinguishes as different from McKonkey's, though he does not locate the former, which is given on Hessian maps of the period as John's Ferry. Dr. Carlos E. Godfrey, Director of the Public Record Office of New Jersey, calls attention to the interesting fact that the records under his supervision show that McKonkey's and Johnson's Ferries are identical, Samuel McKonkey owning the ferry rights on the Pennsylvania bank and Garret Johnson those on the New Jersey side.

to cross the River and make the attack upon Trenton in the Morning, If you can do nothing real, at least create as great a diversion as possible. I am, etc.[89]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Camp at Newton, December 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: I this minute received the honor of your favor of the 26th. and you may be assured that I shall with great pleasure transmit all my dispatches to Congress thro your hands and unsealed. The inclosed to them will give you a full account of the attack on Trenton and to which I beg leave to refer you. I regret much, that the Ice prevented Col. Cadwalader from passing, could he have got over with his Troops I am persuaded we should have been crowned with much success. The same Cause hindred Genl. Ewing, with his aid to have seized the bridge leading from Trenton, not a Hessian would have escaped from thence. The situation of our Troops and the apprehension that the means of obtaing Succour would become more difficult, made it necessary that we should return in the Opinion of the Genl. Officers, with the prisoners we had taken. I am in haste, etc.[90]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Newton, December 27, 1776.

Sir: I have the pleasure of Congratulating you upon the success of an enterprize which I had formed against a Detachment

[89] From original in possession of Charles E. Cadwalader, of Philadelphia, as printed in Stryker's *Battles of Trenton and Princeton*, p. 132. Reed had been in New Jersey a few days before, but Stryker states he was in Philadelphia on Christmas day and rode to Bristol, Pa., on the afternoon of December 25. His discouraging report was his letter of December 22 to Washington, written from Bristol. It is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed by Stryker and by Sparks in *Writings of Washington*, vol. 4, p. 542. (See extract in note to Washington's letter to Maj. Gen. Joseph Spencer, Dec. 22, 1776, *ante*.)

[90] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

of the Enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday Morning. The Evening of the 25th I ordered the Troops intended for this Service [which were about 2400][91] to parade back of McKonkey's Ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark, imagining we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary Artillery, by 12 O'Clock, and that we might easily arrive at Trenton by five in the Morning, the distance being about nine Miles. But the Quantity of Ice, made that Night, impeded the passage of the Boats so much, that it was three O'Clock before the Artillery could all get over, and near four, before the Troops took up their line of march.

This made me despair of surprising the Town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke, but as I was certain there was no making a Retreat without being discovered, and harassed on repassing the River, I determined to push on at all Events. I form'd my detachments into two divisions one to March by the lower or River Road, the other by the upper or Pennington Road. As the Divisions had nearly the same distance to March, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out Guards, to push directly into the Town, that they might charge the Enemy before they had time to form. The upper Division[92] arrived at the Enemys advanced post, exactly at Eight O'Clock, and in three Minutes after, I found, from the fire on the lower Road that, that Division had also got up. The out Guards made but small Opposition, tho' for their Numbers, they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind Houses. We presently saw their main Body formed, but from their Motions, they seemed undetermined how to act.[93] Being hard pressed by our

[91] The phrase in brackets is in the draft but not in the letter sent.

[92] As first written the draft was "I arrived with the upper division."

[93] The draft here has the following, which was afterwards crossed out: "They first moved towards their left, but being briskly charged by Genl. Sullivans division, they were drove into the Town again; they then filed off to their Right and I suspected were

Troops, who had already got possession of part of their Artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right leading to Princetown, but perceiving their Intention, I threw a body of Troops in their Way which immediately checked them. Finding from our disposition that they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any further Resistance, they agreed to lay down their Arms. The Number, that submitted in this manner, was 23 Officers and 886 Men. Col Rall. the commanding Officer with seven others were found wounded in the Town. I dont exactly know how many they had killed, but I fancy not above twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular Stand. Our loss is very trifling indeed, only two Officers and one or two privates wounded. I find, that the Detachment of the Enemy consisted of the three Hessian Regiments of Lanspatch, Kniphausen and Rohl[94] amounting to about 1500 Men, and a Troop of British Light Horse, but immediately upon the begining of the Attack, all those who were, not killed or taken, pushed directly down the Road towards Bordentown. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan have been compleatly carried into Execution. Genl. Ewing was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of the Bridge leading out of Town, but the Quantity of Ice was so great, that tho' he did every thing in his power to effect it, he could not get over.

This difficulty also hindered General Cadwallader from crossing, with the Pennsylvania Militia, from Bristol, he got part of his Foot over, but finding it impossible to embark his Artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am fully confident, that could the

attempting to gain a Road leading to Princetown, upon which I ordered Colo. Hands and the German Battalion to throw themselves before them, this they did with Spirit and Rapidity and immediately checked them. I then ordered Lord Stirling to advance his brigade upon their other flank which effectually prevented them from regaining the Town, finding themselves in this Situation and seeing our other Troops advancing upon them from every Quarter they in a very little time agreed to lay down their Arms."

[94] Anspach, Knyphausen, and Rahl's regiments.

Troops under Generals Ewing and Cadwallader have passed the River, I should have been able, with their Assistance, to have driven the Enemy from all their posts below Trenton. But the Numbers I had with me, being inferior to theirs below me, and a strong Battalion of Light Infantry at Princetown above me, I thought it most prudent to return the same Evening, with my prisoners and the Artillery we had taken. We found no Stores of any Consequence in the Town. In justice to the Officers and Men, I must add, that their Behaviour upon this Occasion, reflects the highest honor upon them. The difficulty of passing the River in a very severe Night, and their march thro' a violent Storm of Snow and Hail, did not in the least abate their Ardour. But when they came to the Charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward, and were I to give a preference to any particular Corps, I should do great injustice to the others. Colonel Baylor,[95] my first Aid de Camp, will have the honor of delivering this to you, and from him you may be made acquainted with many other particulars; his spirited Behaviour upon every Occasion, requires me to recommend him to your particular Notice. I have the honor &ca.

P. S. Inclosed you have a particular List of the Prisoners, Artillery and other Stores.[96]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, Newtown, December 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: Your favor of the 21st instant has come duly to hand, in which you have mentioned the receipt of my Letters

[95] Lieut. Col. George Baylor. He took with him a Hessian flag. Congress (Jan. 1, 1777) voted him a horse, properly caparisoned, and recommended him to Washington for promotion to the command of a dragoon regiment. He was given command of the Third Continental Dragoons Jan. 9, 1777.

[96] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. A return of prisoners, etc., captured, in the writing of Tench Tilghman, was inclosed and is filed with Washington's letter in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*. It shows a total of 918 prisoners, 6 brass

of the 16th and 18th of this month, I now inclose you a duplicate of the one dated the 21st. least that should have miscarried.

I have the pleasure of Congratulating you, upon the success of an enterprise which I had form'd against a detachment of the Enemy, lying in Trenton, * * *[97] I some time ago mentioned to you, the importance of attacking the Enemy's detached posts when it can be done with a good prospect of success, the best of consequences must result from their being harrassed on every occasion on that Quarter.

With respect to the Stores you have taken, you must use your own discretion; you can certainly judge with greater propriety what is to be done, than I can who am so far distant. I am &c.

P. S. I must request you will forward the Militia, with all possible expedition. The prisoners we have taken amount in number to 918. of which thirty are Officers, we have also got about one thousand stand of Arms and four Standards and Six brass pieces of Artillery.[98]

To COLONEL JOHN CADWALADER

Head Quarters, Newtown, December 27, 1776.

Dear Sir: I was just now favoured with your Two letters of the 25th. and 26th. Instant and regret much the cause that prevented your passing the River. had it not been for this accident, I am persuaded our plans would have been accomplished to our utmost wishes. The same Obstacle hindered Genl. Ewin from giving his aid and cooperating in the attack on Trenton. could we have had his force to have secured the pass over the

3-pounders, 3 ammunition wagons, as many muskets, etc., as there were prisoners, 12 drums, and 4 colors. The draft, also in Tilghman's writing, varies in minor verbal particulars from the letter sent.

[97] The omitted portion is a verbatim repetition of the account sent to Congress of the Battle of Trenton.

[98] The letter sent, dated Dec. 28, 1776, is in the writing of William Grayson, and is in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The draft is in the writing of Caleb Gibbs.

Bridge; The whole of the Enemy must have fallen into our hands; But availing themselves of this circumstance all that could, retreated with the greatest precipitation without making the least opposition. Those that remained drew up but in such confusion and disorder that they were incapable of making a sucessfull resistance. You have the number of Officers &c [taken,] below. the Damage we sustained was very inconsiderable, not more than a private or two killed, one or two wounded and Captn. Washington[99] of the third Virginia Regiment. I should have most certainly pursued those that retreated had it not been for the distressed situation of my Troops (about Three or four and twenty hundred in number) who had experienced the greatest fatigue in breaking a passage thro the ice and all the Severities of rain, and Storm. This with the apprehension that we could receive no Succours, and that the difficulty of passing the River might become greater, led us to conclude our return eligible. The Officers and Men who were engaged in the Enterprize behaved with great firmness, poise, advance and bravery and such as did them the highest honour.

I shall be extremely ready, and it is my most earnest wish, to pursue every means that shall seem probable to distress the Enemy and to promise success on our part. If we could happily beat up the rest of their Quarters bordering on and near the River, it would be attended with the most valuable consequence. I have called a meeting of the General Officers to consult of what measures shall be next pursued and would recommend that you and Genl. Putnam should defer your intended Operations till you hear from me, perhaps it may be judged prudent for us to pass here with the force we have if it is practicable or

[99] Capt. William Washington. He had been wounded also at Long Island, N. Y.; became lieutenant colonel of the Third Continental Dragoons; was wounded again at Cowpens, S. C., and again at Eutaw Springs, S. C., where he was captured; remained a prisoner on parole until the end of the war.

if it is not, that I may come down to you and afford every assistance in my power. We will try to concert a plan and upon such principles as shall appear to promise success. Please to give me frequent information of the state of the River and whether it is to be passed in Boats or whether the Ice will admit of a passage. I am, in haste, etc. [H.S.P.]

PRISONERS

1 col.	8 Lieuts.,	20 Drummers,
2 Lieut. Colo.	12 Ensigns,	9 Musicians,
3 Majors,	2 Surgeons Mates,	25 Servants,
4 Captains,	92 Sergeants,	740 Rank and file.

Total 919. about 25 or 30 killed. 6 pieces of Brass Artillery from 900 to 1000 Stand Arms &c.[1]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Head Quarters, December 28, 1776.

Dear Sir: Since I had the pleasure of informing you Yesterday of our success at Trenton, I have received advice that Count Donnop with the remainder of the Enemy's Army, immediately upon the news, decamped, and was on his Retreat towards South Amboy; on hearing this, Colo. Cadwallader and Genl. Ewing[2] passed the River with the Troops under their command, and Genl. Mifflin will follow this day, with a considerable Body of Militia from Pennsylvania, from whence large Reinforcements are coming in. I purpose to go over myself, with the whole of the Continental Troops as soon as they are refreshed and recovered of their late Fatigue. These added together, will make our force very respectable. I have wrote to

[1] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[2] The draft gives their force as 1,500, which was crossed out; Ewing's brigade was stated to be 600 and Mifflin was to cross with 1,500. These figures were crossed out, doubtless from motives of prudence, to guard against the information miscarrying to the enemy.

Genl. McDougall and Genl. Maxwell who are at Morris Town, and have desired them to collect as large a Body of Militia as they possibly can, and whether the Enemy advance or retreat, harrass them on Flank and Rear. If they cannot be brought to that, to keep them embodied, till they are joined by our regular Troops. Things being in this Situation, I think a fair Opportunity is offered of driving the Enemy entirely from, or at least to, the extremity of the province of Jersey. I would therefore have you advance as rapidly as the Season will admit, with the Eastern Militia, by the way of Hackensack, and proceed downwards till you hear from me; I dont think there is the least danger of the Enemy's making any move towards the Highlands at this Season of the Year, that they cannot do it by Water is most certain. I am &c.[3]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER McDOUGALL

Head Quarters, Newtown, December 28, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 22d. and am sorry that Affairs bore so bad an aspect in your Quarter at that time, but I hope that the late success at Trenton on the 26th. and the consequences of it, will change the Face of Matters not only there but every where else. I crossed over to Jersey the Evening of the 25th. about 9 Miles above Trenton with upwards of 2000 Men and attacked three Regiments of Hessians, consisting of 1500 Men about 8 o'Clock next Morning. Our Men pushed on with such rapidity, that they soon carried four pieces of Cannon out of Six, Surrounded the Enemy, and obliged 30 Officers and 886 privates to lay down their Arms without firing a Shot. Our loss was only two Officers and two or three privates wounded. The Enemy had between 20 and 30 killed. We

[3] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

should have made the whole of them prisoners, could Genl. Ewing have passed the Delaware at Trenton and got in their Rear, but the Ice prevented him. I am informed, that Count Donnop with the remainder of the Army below Trenton, decamped immediately upon this News, and is on his March towards South Amboy. Generals Mifflin, Ewing and Cadwallader have already passed over to Jersey with a Capital Force, and I shall follow with the Continental Regiments, as soon as they have recovered from their late Fatigue, which was indeed very great. I hope you Sir, Genl. Maxwell to whom I have wrote, Colo. Vose, Colo. Ford and every Gentleman who is well affected, will exert Yourselves, in encouraging the Militia, and assuring them that nothing is wanting but for them to lend a hand, and driving the Enemy from the whole province of Jersey. pray watch the motions of the Enemy, and if they incline to retreat [or advance] harrass their Rear, and Flanks; But at all events endeavour to collect a Body of Men to be ready to join me [or act otherwise, as occasion shall require.]

Your Son was mentioned among the first of our Prisoners that I demanded in Exchange; but Genl. Howe (or Mr. Loring in his absence) sent out others than those I demanded. I have remonstrated to him upon this head, and have assured him that I will send in no more prisoners till he sends out the Paroles of the Officers taken in Canada. I am, etc.[4]

To BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAM MAXWELL

Head Quarters, December 28, 1776.

Sir: As I am about to enter the Jerseys with a considerable force, immediately for the purpose of attempting a recovery of that Country from the Enemy, and as a diversion on your

[4] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in Washington's handwriting.

Quarter may greatly facilitate this event, by distracting and dividing their troops; I must request, you will collect all the force in your power together, and annoy and distress them, by every means which Prudence can suggest. It will be exceedingly proper, for you to use every Argument to inspirit and encourage the Militia, as also to prevail on the troops commanded by Colo. Vose, to continue longer in Service. You may assure the Militia, that every effort shall be made to rescue their Country from the hands of the Enemy, and that with their concurrence I hope and expect to effect it; It may be urged to the Eastern Troops with great truth, that if a successful opposition is not made to the Enemy in the Jerseys, that their Country will not remain long free from the ravages of War.

I have the pleasure to inform you of the success of an enterprize, which took effect the 26th. Instant at Trenton; On the night of the preceding day, I cross'd the Delaware with a detachment of the Army under my Command, amounting to about 2.400; the difficulties arising in the passage of the River, prevented my arriving at the Town so soon as I expected, by which means the attack did not commence till eight O'Clock; when our Troops pressed forward with so much Ardor, and Spirit, as never to suffer them to form completely, about Seven hundred of the enemy ran away in the begining of the action; the rest amounting to 1000 including 31 Officers, after making a feeble opposition, laid down their Arms and Surrendered themselves prisoners of War. We have taken about one thousand stand of Arms, four Standards and Six pieces of brass Artillery, with some other Stores. I have issued some orders to day for the encouragement of the Troops, whose terms are near expiring, which I shall be glad you will immediately communicate to them, in your Orders. I am &c.[5]

[5] The draft is in the writing of William Grayson. There is no copy of these orders in the *Washington Papers*.

To ROBERT MORRIS

Newtown, December 29, 1776.

Dear Sir: The inclosed Letter to Congress will shew you my intention of passing the River again and the plans I have in view. After you have perused it, I beg your care of it and that it may be closed and transmitted 'em by the earliest Opportunity. I am, etc.

P. S. I shall be particularly obliged for your care of the Two other Letters inclosed. That for Mrs. Washington you will have put in the post office.[6]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Newtown, December 29, 1776.

Sir: I am just setting out, to attempt a second passage over the Delaware, with the Troops that were with me on the Morning of the 26th. I am determined to effect it, if possible, but know that it will be attended with much fatigue and difficulty, on account of the Ice, which will neither allow us to cross on foot or give us an easy passage for the Boats. Genl Cadwallader crossed from Bristol on the 27th and by his Letter of Yesterday, was at Borden Town with about Eighteen Hundred Men.[7] In addition to these Genl. Mifflin sent over Five Hundred

[6] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[7] General Cadwalader wrote to Washington at 10 o'clock the morning of December 27, from Burlington, N. J., that he had crossed with a considerable part of his 1,500 Pennsylvania Militia before being informed that Washington had recrossed into Pennsylvania. "This defeated the Scheme of joining your Army; we were much embarrassed which way to proceed. I thought it most prudent to retreat; but Colonel Reed was of opinion, that we might safely proceed to Burlington, and recommended it warmly, lest it should have a bad effect on the militia, who were twice disappointed. The Landing in open daylight must have alarmed the Enemy, or we might have been cut off by all their Force collected to this place. We had intelligence immediately afterwards, that the Enemy had left the Black Horse and Mount Holly. Upon this we determined to proceed to Burlington. Colonel Reed and two other officers went on from one post to another, till they came to Bordentown, where they found the Coast clear. We shall march at four to-morrow morning for that place."

from Philadelphia on Friday, Three Hundred Yesterday Evening from Burlington and will follow to day with 7 or 800 more. I have taken every precaution in my power for subsisting of the Troops, and shall without loss of time and as soon as circumstances will admit of, pursue the Enemy in their retreat, try to beat up more of their Quarters and in a word, in every instance adopt such measures as the exigency of our affairs requires and our situation will justify. Had it not been for the unhappy failure of Genls. Ewing and Cadwallader in their attempts to pass on the Night of the 25. and if the several concerted attacks, could have been made, I have no doubt but that our views would have succeeded to our warmest expectations. What was done, occasioned the Enemy to leave their Several Posts on the Delaware with great precipitation. The peculiar distresses to which the Troops who were with me were reduced, by the severities of Cold, rain, Snow and Storm, the charge of the Prisoners they had taken, and another reason that might be mentioned, and the little prospect of receiving further succours, on account of the Season and situation of the River, would not authorize a further pursuit at that time. Since transmitting the List of Prisoners, a few more have been discovered and taken in Trentown, among them a Lieut. Colo. and a Deputy Adjutant General. The whole amounting to about a Thousand.

I have been honoured with your Letter of the 23d. and its several Inclosures, to which I shall pay due attention. A Flag goes in this Morning with a Letter to Genl. Howe and another to Genl Lee. For the latter, Rob. Morris Esq has transmitted a Bill of Exchange, drawn by Two British Officers for £116:9:3 on Major Small for Money furnished them in South Carolina which I trust will be paid. This supply is exclusive of the Sum you have resolved to be sent him and which Mr Morris will procure in time. I have the honor etc.

P. S. I am under great apprehensions about obtaining proper supplies of Provision for our Troops. I fear it will be extremely difficult, if not impracticable, as the Enemy, from every account has taken and collected every thing they could find.[8]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Newtown, December 29, 1776.

Gentlemen: This will be delivered to you by Captain who commands the Guard that goes down with the Hessian prisoners taken at Trenton on the 26th. The Deputy Adjutant General will make you a proper return of their Numbers. I leave the place, where they are to be quartered, to your better Judgments. But I think the Officers and Men should be separated. I wish the former may be well treated, and that the latter may have such principles instilled into them during their Confinement, that when they return, they may open the Eyes of their Countrymen, who have not the most cordial Affection for their English fellow Soldiers. I am, etc.

P.S. It would be well to distribute some of the Papers printed and published by Congress among them.[9] [H.S.P.]

*GENERAL ORDERS

Head Quarters, New Town, December 29, 1776.

The Abstracts for Payment of the Troops to be made out, and lodged with the Generals Secretary for the Months of November and December.

The unnecessary Baggage of the Army to be deposited for the present, at New Town, as the Sick also are till they can be

[8] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft, also in Harrison's writing, has minor verbal variations from the letter sent.

[9] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

removed to Philadelphia agreeable to the directions of Doctr. Shippen and Doctr. Cockran. But Small Guards to be left with the Baggage and those to consist of Men not able to March or undergo much fatigue.

General Fermoys Brigade is to join Genl. Greene's division, as the one under the Comd. of Colo. Hitchcock is to do Genl. Sullivan's at a convenient time, but to wait further orders.

General Greene's division is, with their artillery Baggage &ca., to cross the River at Yardley Ferry, and General Sullivan's at McConkey's.

Colo. Knox is to Assign the Artillery with such spare Ammunition as he shall judge proper to carry to the two Divisions.

The Boats between Easton and Coryells, and Coryells and McConkey's to be drawn up, a Guard of Militia consisting of an officer and twenty Men to be kept over the Boats at Easton, Coryells, McConkeys, Yardleys, and Trenton Ferries.[10]

To SIR WILLIAM HOWE

Head Quarters, Bucks County, December 29, 1776.

Sir: I take the Liberty of inclosing you a Letter for General Lee, which I must beg the favor of you to have forwarded, as early as possible, as it contains a draft upon Major Small for a sum of Money, of which I fear the General will be in want.

A Division of prisoners of the 7th. Regt. with Captain Newmarsh,[11] crossed the River at Easton and went in without Mr. Moylan's Knowledge; From the irregularity of the Officer who conducted them, who did not make me a Return of their Names and Rank, I am ignorant of either. I shall therefore

[10] From the original in the National Museum, Independence Hall, Philadelphia. This document is an evidence that the General Orders of the Trenton-Princeton campaign are missing because of the hurry and confusion at that time. Possibly Washington wrote out all the orders as he did these, and time was not found by his aides to record them.

[11] Capt. Timothy Newmarsh, of the Seventh Foot (or Royal Fusileers).

be much obliged, if you will order Mr. Loring to furnish me with a proper List of them, that I may make a demand of the like number in Exchange. I am Sir &ca.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL CHARLES LEE

Newtown, December 29, 1776.

Dear Sir: I have the pleasure of inclosing you a Letter from your Friend Robert Morris Esqr, with a draft on Major Small for £116.9.3. Sterling.

It will afford me the highest Satisfaction to receive a Line from you, informing me of the State of your Health, and your Situation, in both of which I hope you are as happy as a person under your Circumstances can possibly be.

Such further Supplies as you may have occasion for, shall be from time to time remitted to you. I am &c.[12]

To THE OFFICER COMMANDING AT MORRISTOWN

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 30, 1776.

Sir: I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the Continental Regiments from the Eastern Governments, have, to a Man, agreed to stay Six weeks beyond their Term of Inlistment, which was to have expired the last day of this Month; For this extraordinary mark of their Attachment to their Country, I have agreed to give them a Bounty of Ten Dollars pr Man, besides their pay running on. I hope this noble Example will be followed by the four Regiments under your Command; promise them the Same Reward and endeavour to work upon them by every Means in your power; let them Know the Militia are pouring in from all Quarters and only want Veteran

[12] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Troops, to lead them on.[13] Since our Success at this place on the 26th., the Enemy have evacuated all the Country below, they went off in the greatest hurry and Confusion. I beg you will collect all the Men you possibly can about Chatham, and after gaining the proper Intelligence, endeavour to strike a Stroke upon Elizabeth Town or that Neighbourhood; at any rate be ready to cooperate with me. Let me hear what Success you have with your Troops as soon as possible. I am &c.[14]

To MAJOR THEODORICK BLAND OR OFFICER COMMANDING VIRGINIA LIGHT HORSE

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 30, 1776.

Sir: I am informed that you are on your March from Virginia, to join the Army under my Command, and that you have the charge of the prisoners who were Ordered up to be Exchanged. As this must delay your march very much, and as I do not think it expedient for the prisoners to come on just at this time; I desire you will leave them at the most convenient Place, there to remain till further orders from me, and advance with the Horse, as quick as you possibly can. If a

[13] On December 27 Congress resolved "That General Washington be empowered to use every endeavour, by giving bounties and otherwise, to prevail upon the troops, whose time of inlistment shall expire at the end of the month, to stay with the army so long after that period, as its situation shall render their stay necesary." The Commander in Chief was also empowered to appoint a Commissary of Prisoners and a Clothier General and fix their salaries. Also to fix a system of promotion in the Army "which, in his opinion, and that of the general officers with him, will produce most general satisfaction; that it be suggested to him, whether a promotion of field officers in the colonial line, and of captains and subalterns in the regimental line, would not be the most proper." Also Washington was vested with full powers to raise the 16 Additional Continental regiments at large, to appoint the officers, to arrange for supplies, etc. These powers were to be in force for six months. These resolves were copied out by George Clymer, attested by Clymer, Robert Morris, and George Walton; and transmitted to Washington from Philadelphia on December 31. They are in the *Washington Papers*. Sparks prints the resolves in full, with brief comment, in the Appendix to volume 4 of *Writings of Washington*, p. 550. Ford prints them as a footnote, vol. 5, p. 140.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

guard should be wanted to remain with the prisoners, apply for Militia, for I would not have a Horse Man left behind. When you arrive at Philadelphia apply to Genl. Putnam who will inform you of the most proper place to cross the Delaware. I am &c.[15]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Head Quarters, Trenton, December 30, 1776.

Dear Sir: We have the greatest Occasion at present for hard Money, to pay a certain set of People who are of particular use to us.[16] If you could possibly collect a Sum, if it were but One hundred or one hundred and fifty Pounds it would be of great Service. Silver would be most convenient.[17]

I am taking every Measure to improve our late lucky Blow, and hope to be successful; the greatest impediment to our Motion is, the want of provisions, if it lays in your way to give the Commissary any advice or Assistance in that Way I am sure you will do it. Some of the Troops are yet on the other Side of the River, only waiting for provisions. Jersey has been swept so clean that there is no dependance upon any thing there. I am, etc.[18]

To ROBERT MORRIS

Trenton, December 31, 1776.

Sir: Our Affairs are at present in a most delicate, tho' I hope a fortunate Situation: But the great and radical Evil which pervades our whole System and like an Ax at the Tree of our

[15] The draft is in the writing of George Lewis.

[16] Spies.

[17] Morris sent forward 410 Spanish silver dollars, 2 English crowns, ½ French crown, and 10½ English shillings, in two canvas bags. This amounted to £124.7.6 lawful, and in the settling of his official accounts in 1784 Washington wrote of this to the Comptroller of the Treasury: "£124.7.6 I remember to have received; the time and circumstances of it being too remarkable ever to be forgotten by me."

[18] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

Safety, Interest and Liberty here again shews its hateful Influence. Tomorrow the Continental Troops are all at Liberty. I wish to push our Success to keep up the Pannick and in order to get their Assistance have promised them a Bounty of 10 Dollars if they will continue for one Month. But here again a new Difficulty presents itself we have not Money to pay the Bounty, and we have exhausted our Credit by such frequent Promises that it has not the Weight we could wish. If it be possible, Sir, to give us Assistance do it; borrow Money where it can be done we are doing it upon our private Credit; every Man of Interest and every Lover of his Country must strain his Credit upon such an Occasion.

No Time my dear Sir is to be lost. I am, etc.[19]

The Bearer will escort the Money.[20]

TO MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Trenton, December 31, 1776.

Dear Sir: I just now received your favor of the 26th. and am sorry Genl. Wadsworth's Brigade[21] should have left the Shores in such a situation. I hope you have secured 'em all.

I had flattered myself that many of the Eastern troops if not the Whole, had got to Peeks Kills before the date of your letter. I refer you to my last for what I would have done with 'em, I only shall add on that Subject, That I wish you to proceed with 'em as fast as possible, leaving proper guards for the several passes &c as before directed.

In respect to the Regiments which you mention, I confess there is much difficulty, nor will the situation of our Affairs at

[19] In the writing of Joseph Reed.

[20] "I was honoured with your favour of yesterday by Mr. Howell late last night, and ever solicitous to comply with your requisitions I am up very early this morning to dispatch a supply of fifty thousand Dollars to your Excellency."—*Morris to Washington*, Jan. 1, 1777. This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

[21] Brig. Gen. James Wadsworth's Connecticut Militia brigade.

this time allow me to deliberate on a Remedy. All the Cols. are drawing [pay] and I doubt not will forward the pay of those who are divided from 'em; Such parts of those Regiments as are here, I trust will stay a month longer, some have engaged to do it, and I would fain hope in that time, with a moderate share of fortune, to give our affairs a more promising aspect than they have worn of late. If you can advise a mode by which the Men may be relieved, I shall be glad and it will be complied with.

Your exertions to secure the Arms, accoutrements, ammunition &c can't be too great. It must be done. You need not take any notice of the Order for stopping a Dollar from those who had Arms found 'em. The Stoppage would be of little consequence to the States, and an Injury to individuals, many of whom perhaps had it not in their power to procure Arms.

Before this, I expect some of Colo. Knox's[22] Officers will have got to Peeks Kills, having been sent to recruit for the Artillery and with proper instructions respecting that department and that also of the Artificers.

To induce the Officers and Soldiery to exert themselves and to destroy the Enemy, All plunder, Stores &c taken, are to be divided equally between those who take it, having regard to the pays of the parties concerned, to regulate the distribution. That this may be done equitably the whole of the plunder &c is to be returned to the Quarter Master Genl. or the Deputy Qr. Master where they are, who will distribute it, paying them full value of whatever may be retained for the publick. I am, etc.

P. S. The Order about plunder and Stores does not extend to any but that belonging to the Enemy and not to Tory property; had that been allowed, the Effects of many good, staunch,

[22] Col. Henry Knox was elected brigadier general of Artillery by Congress on December 27.

Worthy persons would have fallen a sacrifice. You are requested to forward the Enclosed.[23] [MS. H. S.]

To THE FRIENDS OF AMERICA IN THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY

Trentown, December 31, 1776.

The Army of the American States, under my Command being lately greatly reinforced, and having again Enter'd the State of New Jersey, I most warmly request the Militia of said State at this Important Crisis to Evince their love to their Country, by boldly stepping forth and defending the Cause of Freedom, The Inhabitants maybe Assured that by a Manly and Spirited Conduct they may now relieve their Distressed State from the Depredations of our Enemies. I have therefore dispatched Colo. Neilson, Majors Taylor, Van Emburgh and Frelinghuysen, together with some other Gentlemen of your State to call together and Embody your Militia, not doubting but Success will attend their Endeavours.[24]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Trenton, January 1, 1777.[25]

Sir: Your Resolves of the 27th. Ulto. were transmitted me last Night by Messrs. Clymer, Morris and Walton; The confidence which Congress have honored me with by these proceedings, has a claim to my warmest acknowledgements. At the same time, I beg leave to assure them, that all my faculties shall be

[23] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

[24] The original of this, which is in the writing of Thomas Mifflin and signed by Washington, was sold at auction in 1924.

[25] According to the *History of Trenton* (Trenton Times: 1929), Washington's headquarters from December 30 to January 1 were in the house of Maj. John Barnes, high sheriff of Hunterdon County, on Queen (now South Broad) Street. On January 2 the headquarters were at the True American Inn, South Broad Street, just below Factory Street. The inn was burned down in 1843.

In Congress Dec.r 27.th 1776.

The unjust but determined Purpose of the British Court to enslave these free States, obvious through every delusive Insinuation to the contrary, having placed them in such a Situation that the very Existence of civil Liberty now depends on the right Execution of military Power, and the vigorous decisive Conduct of these, being impossible to distant numerous & deliberative Bodies: The Congress having maturely considered the present Crisis, and having perfect Reliance on the Wisdom, Vigour, and Uprightness of General Washington do hereby —

Resolve That Gen.l Washington shall be and he is hereby vested with full ample and complete Powers to raise and collect together in the most speedy & effectual Manner from any or all these United States sixteen Battalions of Infantry in Addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint Officers for the said Battalions; to raise Arms and equip three thousand eight Horse; three Regiments of Artillery, and a Corps of Engineers and establish their Pay; to apply to any of the States for such Aid of the Militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such Magazines of Provisions and in such Places as he shall think proper

proper; to displace and appoint all Officers under the Rank of Brigadier Generals, and to fill up all Vacancies in every other Department in the American Armies, to take whatever he may be, whatever he may want for the Use of the Army, if the Inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable Price for the same; to arrest and confine Persons who refuse to take the Continental Currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American Cause, and return to the States of which they are Citizens their Names and the Nature of their Crimes, together with the Evidence to prove them.

That the foregoing Powers be vested in Gen.l Washington for and during the Term of six Months from the Date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress.

Resolved, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to take the most vigorous and speedy Measures for punishing all such as shall refuse Continental Currency; and that the General be directed to give all necessary Aid to the Council of Safety for carrying their Measures in this Subject into effectual Execution.

By orders of Congress
John Hancock President

RESOLVE OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 27, 1776, CONFERRING POWERS OF A DICTATOR ON WASHINGTON

employed, to direct properly the powers they have been pleased to vest me with, and to advance those Objects and only those, which gave rise to this honourable mark of distinction. If my exertions should not be attended with the desired success, I trust the failure will be imputed to the true cause, the peculiarly distressed situation of our Affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat, rather than to my want of zeal for my Country and the closest attention to her interests, to promote which has ever been my study.

On Monday Morning I passed the Delaware myself; the whole of our Troops and Artillery not till yesterday owing to the ice which rendered their Passage extremely difficult and fatiguing. Since their arrival we have been parading the Regiments whose time of service is now expired, in order to know what force we should have to depend on, and how to regulate our views accordingly. After much persuasion and the exertions of their Officers, half or a greater proportion of those from the Eastward have consented to stay Six Weeks, on a bounty of Ten dollars. I feel the inconvenience of this advance and I know the consequences which will result from it; But what could be done? Pennsylvania had allowed the same to her Militia. The Troops feel their importance and would have their price. Indeed as their aid is so essential and not to be dispensed with, it is to be wondered, they had not estimated it at a higher rate. I perceive that Congress, apprehensive of this event, had made unlimited provision for it.[26] Genl. Mifflin

[26] Greater Powers must be lodged in the Hands of the General than he has ever yet exercised. It is impossible, in his present Situation and the short Time he has to prepare for the insuing Campaign, for him to be in readiness so early as General Howe will take the Field, unless you delegate to him full Power to take such Measures as he may find Necessary to promote the Establishment of the New Army. Time will not admit nor Circumstances allow of a reference to Congress. I can see no Evil nor Danger to the States in delagating such Powers to the General reserving to yourselves the Right of Confirming the Measures. . . . I am no Advocate for the Extension of Military Power; neither would I advise it at present, but from the fullest Conviction

is at Bordentown with about Eighteen hundred Men and Genl. Cadwalader at Croswix with about the same number. We are now making our arrangements and concerting a plan of operations, which I shall attempt to execute as soon as possible and which I hope will be attended with some success. As to the Number and situation of the Enemy, I cannot obtain exact intelligence; but from the Accounts most to be relied on, they have collected the principal part of their force from Brunswick and the neighbouring posts at Princeton, where they are throwing up some Works. The Number there, is reported to be from Five to Six Thousand, and it is confidently said they have sent the chief part of their Baggage to Brunswick. It is added, that Genl. Howe landed at Amboy a day or two ago with a thousand light Troops and is on his march from thence. I have sent into different parts of Jersey, Men of influence, to spirit up the Militia and flatter myself that the many injuries they have received will induce some to give their aid. If what they have suffered, does not [excite] rouse their resentment, they must not possess the common feelings of humanity. To oppression, ravage and a deprivation of property, they have had the more mortifying circumstance of insult added. After being stripped of all they had, without the least compensation, [they were granted] protections have been granted them for the free [and secure] enjoyment of their effects. I have the honor &c.

P. S. I have not been able to procure returns of our force owing to our situation; I suppose that about Two or three and

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of its being absolutely Necessary. . . . The Fate of War is so uncertain, dependant upon so many Contingencies; a Day, nay, an Hour, is so important in the Crisis of publick Affairs, that it would be folly to wait for Relief from the deliberative Councils of Legislative Bodies. The Virtue of the People, at such an Hour, is not to be trusted; and I can assure you that the General will not exceed his Powers, altho' he may sacrifice the Cause. There never was a Man that might be more safely trusted, nor a Time when there was a louder Call."—*General Greene to the President of Congress,* Dec. 21, 1776. This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress.*

Twenty hundred passed with me, which number is now reduced to Fifteen or Sixteen hundred. No Estimate of our force can be formed from the number of Regiments; many of 'em by reason of sickness cannot turn out more than a hundred men.[27]

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER, AND GEORGE WALTON

Head Quarters, Trenton, January 1, 1777.

Gentn.: I have the honor and pleasure of acknowledging your favors of the 28th and 31st December and Mr. Morris's of the 30th and 31st. The Messenger delivered me the two parcels of hard Money, which I suppose will turn out agreeable to the list, having not had time to count it.

The Sum that is lodged at Ticonderoga shall be ordered down, provided the Commander in the Northern Department, finds no better use for it there, than I can make of it here.

The Accounts you give me, in yours of the 28 Ulto. of the good effects that are likely to flow from our Success at Trenton, add not a little to the Satisfaction I have felt on that occasion. You are pleased to pay me many personal Compliments, as if the Merit of that affair, was due solely to me; but I assure you, the other General Officers, who assisted me in the plan and Execution, have full as good a right to your Encomiums as myself. We are devising such Measures, as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much or more to the distress of the Enemy, than their defeat at Trenton, and I promise myself the greatest Advantages from having engaged a number of the Eastern Troops, to stay Six Weeks beyond their time of Inlistment, upon giving a Bounty of Ten dollars. This I know is a most extravagant

[27] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison, but the P. S. is not found in the draft, and the words in brackets show the variation of the draft from the letter sent.

price, when compared to the time of Service; but the Example was set by the State of Pennsylvania, with respect to their Militia, and I thought it no time to stand upon Trifles, when a Body of firm Troops, inured to danger, were absolutely necessary to lead on the more raw and undisciplined.

I shall know this day how many of Colo Glover's Regt. are willing to continue in the land Service. I dont expect many will be prevailed upon to stay, and I will endeavour to procure the rest for the purpose of fitting out the Frigates upon the best terms I can.

The future and proper disposition of the Hessian Prisoners, struck me in the same light in which you view it, for which Reason I advised the Council of Safety to seperate them from their Officers, and canton them in the German Counties. If proper pains are taken to convince them, how preferable the Situation of their Countrymen, the Inhabitants of those Counties is to theirs, I think they may be sent back in the Spring, so fraught with a love of Liberty and property too, that they may create a disgust to the Service among the remainder of the foreign Troops and widen that Breach which is already opened between them and the British.

Yours of the 31st of last Month, incloses me sundry Resolves of Congress, by which I find they have done me the honor to intrust me with powers, in my Military Capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited in extent. Instead of thinking myself free'd from all *civil* Obligations, by this mark of their Confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind, that as the Sword was the last Resort for the preservation of our Liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside, when those Liberties are firmly established. I shall instantly set about making the most necessary Reforms in the Army; but it will not be in my power to make so great a progress, as if I had a little leisure time upon my Hands.

Mr. Morris has my sincere thanks for the advice and Assistance he promises to give Mr. Commissary Wharton, and I beg he would remind him, that all his Exertions will be necessary, to Support an Army in this exhausted Country. I have &ca.

P. S. My best thanks to Mr. Morris for procuring the Qr. Cask Wine, which is not yet got to hand.[28]

To MAJOR WILLIAM DE HART[29]

Head Quarters, Trenton, January 1, 1777.

Sir: I have of the 27th last Month from Morris Town and am glad to find that you determine to remain in the Service at my Request. I am told that there has been a great deal of uneasiness in your Regiment on Account of the Appointment of Colo. Newcomb to the command of it. I beg you and the other Gentlemen will make yourselves easy upon that head, as by late powers vested in me by Congress, I have full Authority to enquire into all Appointments, and supersede such as appear upon good Grounds to be improper. I have repeatedly called upon the Colonels of Regiments to make up their Abstracts, and receive their money, as I very well know the many Inconveniences that attend Arrearage of Pay, and if from the particular Circumstances of your Regiment, an Abstract cannot be made out just now, let me know what Sum will answer the immediate wants of the Men and it shall be paid to your Order. I have given Lieut. Morrison[30] a Warrant for 5000 Dollars for the recruiting Service; several Captains of your Regiment have already and got Money upon that Account. I will fall upon some Means to give Notice to all your Officers about the Camp

[28] Both the draft and letter sent are in the writing of Tench Tilghman, but the P. S. is not found in the draft.

[29] Of the First New Jersey Regiment. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the regiment Jan. 1, 1777; resigned in November, 1781.

[30] Lieut. Isaac Morrison, of the First New Jersey Regiment. He was appointed a captain in the regiment Jan. 1, 1777; was wounded at Germantown, Pa., and did not rejoin the regiment.

and let them know that they are to repair to Morris Town for Orders. If you can see or send a Message to Lieut. Colonel Ogden,[31] beg of him to exert himself in recruiting the Regiment with the utmost Expedition, and assure him from me, that I will fall upon means to remove his Objections against continuing in the Service.[32] I am etc.[33]

GENERAL ORDERS

Trenton, January 1, 1777.

His Excellency General Washington strictly forbids all the officers and soldiers of the Continental army, of the militia and all recruiting parties, plundering any person whatsoever, whether Tories or others. The effects of such persons will be applied to public uses in a regular manner, and it is expected that humanity and tenderness to women and children will distinguish brave Americans, contending for liberty, from infamous mercenary ravagers, whether British or Hessians.[34]

*To ROBERT MORRIS

Pluckamin, January 5, 1777.

Dear Sir: The Inclosed coming to you open,[35] leaves nothing for me to add on the score of Information of our Circumstances and Situation. A Report (and such only I give it) is just brot. that the Enemy are evacuating Brunswick, and moving forward towards Amboy or Woodbridge.

[31] Lieut. Col. Matthias Ogden. He was advanced to colonel of the First New Jersey Regiment Jan. 1, 1777; taken prisoner at Elizabethtown, N. J., Oct. 5, 1777; exchanged in April, 1781. Granted leave of absence in April, 1783, to visit Europe, he did not return to the service. Brevetted brigadier general Sept. 30, 1783.

[32] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[33] The editor is indebted to the kindness of Julian F. Thompson, of Bridgeport, Conn., for the text of this letter.

[34] The text is from the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* of Jan. 14, 1777. It was sent to the printer with the following request: "The following advertisement was put up in the most public parts of the Jerseys and by giving it a place in your paper, you will oblige a LOVER OF HUMANITY."

[35] Washington's letter to the President of Congress of the same date as this letter, *q.v.*

Your sending the Inclosed for Mrs. Washington to the Post Office (if in time for the Southern Mail) will much oblige, etc.

*To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Pluckamin, January 5, 1777.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that since the date of my last from Trenton I have remov'd with the Army under my Command to this place. The difficulty of crossing the Delaware on Acct. of the Ice made our passage over it tedeous, and gave the Enemy an oppertunity of drawing in their Several Cantonments, and assembling their whole Force at Princeton. Their large Picquets, advanc'd towards Trenton; their great preparations, and some Intelligence I had received, added to their knowledge that the first of Janry. brought on a dissolution of the best part of our Army, gave me the strongest reasons to conclude that an attack upon us was meditating.

Our Situation was most critical and our strength [force] small; to remove immediately, was again destroying every dawn of hope which had begun to revive in the breasts of the Jersey Militia, and to bring those Troops which had first cross'd the Delaware, and were laying at Crosswixs under Genl. Cadwallader, and those under Genl. Mifflin at Bordenton (amounting in the whole to abt. 3600) to Trenton, was [to] bringing of them to an exposed place; one or the other however, was unavoidable; the latter was prefered, and these Troops [they] orderd to join us at Trenton which they did by a Night March on the first Instt.

On the Second,[36] according to my expectation, the Enemy began to advance upon us, and after some skirmishing, the

[36] Ford quotes from a letter of General Howe to Lord George Germain (January 5): "On the 2d. Lord Cornwallis having received accounts of the rebel army being posted at Trenton, advanced thither, leaving the 4th brigade under the command of lieutenant colonel Mawhood at Princeton, and the 2d. brigade, with brigadier general Leslie at Maidenhead. On the approach of the British troops, the enemy's forward posts were driven back upon their army, which was formed in a strong position, behind a

head of their Column reach'd Trenton about 4 O'Clock whilst their rear was as far back as Maidenhead; they attempted to pass Sanpinck Creek[37] (which runs through Trenton) at different places, but finding the Fords guarded, halted, and kindled their Fires. We were drawn up on the other Side of the Creek. In this Situation we remaind till dark canonading the Enemy, and receiving the Fire of their Field pieces, which did us but little damage.

Having by this time discoverd that the Enemy were greatly Superior in Numbers, and that their drift [design] was to surround us. I orderd all our Baggage to be removd silently to Burlington soon after dark, and at twelve O'Clock (after renewing our Fires, and leaving Guards at the Bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above March'd by a round about road to Princeton[38] where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have Stores. One thing I was sure of, that it would avoid the appearance of a Retreat, which (was of Consequence) or to run the hazard of the whole Army's being cut of was unavoidable whilst we might, by a fortunate

creek running through Trenton. During the night of the 2d. the enemy quitted this situation, and marching by Allen's Town, and from thence to Princeton, fell in on the morning of the 3d. with the 17th and 55th regiments, on their march to join brigadier general Leslie at Maidenhead. Lieutenant colonel Mawhood, not being apprehensive of the enemy's strength, attacked and beat back the troops that first presented themselves to him, but finding them at length very superior to him in numbers, he pushed forward with the 17th regiment, and joined brigadier general Leslie. The 55th regiment retired, by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick, and the enemy proceeding immediately to Princeton, the 40th regiment also retired to Brunswick. The loss upon this occasion to his majesty's troops is 17 killed, and nearly 200 wounded and missing."

[37] Assunpink Creek. It was then bridged at Queen (now Broad) Street by a structure scarcely 16 feet wide.

[38] The army marched by the Sandtown road, near what is now Hamilton Avenue; crossed Miry Run near Mercersville, Quaker Bridge to Clarksville, and Stony Brook to Princeton. The British advance from Princeton struck the American skirmish line near Maidenhead and in the face of sharp resistance did not succeed in reaching Trenton until about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The effort to cross the creek by the Queen Street bridge was repulsed. A council of war was held at Alexander Douglass's house, which stood on the site of the present red-brick German Lutheran Church on South Broad Street. The house has been removed to Stacy Park near the old Hessian Barracks.

stroke withdraw Genl. Howe from Trenton, give some reputation to our Arms; happily we succeeded. We found Princeton about Sunrise with only three Regiments of Infantry and three Troops of Light Horse in it, two of which were upon their March for Trenton; these three Regiments (especially the two first) made a gallant resistance and in killed, wounded and Prisoners must have lost near 500 Men upwards of one hundred of them were left dead in the Field, and with what I have with me, and what was taken in the pursuit, and carried across the Delaware, there are near 300 Prisoners, 14 of wch. are Officers, all British.

This piece of good fortune, is counterballanced by the loss of the brave and worthy Genl. Mercer, [Cols Hazlet[39] and Potter,[40] Captn. Neal[41] of the Artillery, Captn. Fleming,[42] who commanded the 1st Virginia Regiment and four and five] and several other valuable Officers who [with 25 or 30 Privates][43] were slain in the Field and have since died of their Wounds. Our whole loss cannot be ascertained, as many who were in pursuit of the Enemy (who were chased three or four Miles) are not yet come in. Our Slain in the Field was about 30.

The rear of the Enemy's army laying at Maidenhead (not more than five or Six Miles from Princeton) were up with us before our pursuit was over, but as I had the precaution to destroy the Bridge over Stony Brooke (about half a Mile from the Field of Action) they were so long retarded there, as to give us time to move of in good order for this place. We took two Brass Field pieces from them, but for want of Horses could not bring

[39] Col. John Haslet, of the Delaware Regiment.

[40] Col. James Potter, of the Pennsylvania Militia. He was wounded and taken prisoner, and not killed, as Washington thought.

[41] Capt. Daniel Neil, of the New Jersey artillery.

[42] Capt. John Fleming, of the First Virginia Regiment.

[43] The words in brackets are Robert Hanson Harrison's attempts to improve Washington's diction.

them of. We also took some Blankets, Shoes, and a few other trifling Articles, Burnt the Hay and destroyed such other things as the Shortness of the time would admit of.[44]

My original plan when I set out from Trenton was to have pushed on to Brunswick, but the harrassed State of our own Troops (many of them having had no rest for two Nights and a day) and the danger of loosing the advantage we had gaind by aiming at too much, Induced me, by the advice of my Officers, to relinquish the attempt but in my judgment Six or Eight hundred fresh Troops upon a forcd March would have destroyed all their Stores, and Magazines; taken (as we have since learnt) their Military Chest containing 70,000 £ and put an end to the War. The Enemy from the best Intelligence I have been able to get, were so much alarmed at the apprehension of this, that they March'd immediately to Brunswick without Halting (except at the Bridges, for I also took up those on Millstone on the different routs to Brunswick) and got there before day.

From the best Information I have received, Genl. Howe has left no Men either at Trenton or Princeton; the truth of this I am endeavouring to ascertain that I may regulate my movements accordingly. The Militia are taking Spirit, and, I am told, are coming in fast from this State; but I fear those from Philadelphia will scarce Submit to the hardships of a Winter Campaign much longer, especially as they very unluckily sent their Blankets with their Baggage to Burlington; I must do them the justice however to add, that they have undergone more fatigue and hardship than I expected Militia (especially

[44] Sparks notes that in both the actions at Trenton and Princeton General Washington encouraged the troops by his presence in the most exposed situations. An officer who was in these engagements wrote from Morristown (January 7): "Our army love their General very much, but they have one thing against him, which is the little care he takes of himself in any action. His personal bravery, and the desire he has of animating his troops by example, make him fearless of danger. This occasions us much uneasiness. But Heaven, which has hitherto been his shield, I hope will still continue to guard so valuable a life."

Citizens) would have done at this Inclement Season. I am just moving to Morristown where I shall endeavour to put them under the best cover I can,[45] hitherto we have lain without any, many of our poor Soldiers quite bearfoot and ill clad in other respects. I am &c.

To MAJOR GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM

Pluckemin, January 5, 1777.

Dear General: Fortune has favoured us in an Attack on Princeton. Genl. Howe advanced upon Trenton which we Evacuated on the Evening of the Second of this instant, and drew up the Troops on the south side of the Mill Creek and continued in that position until dark, then Marched for Princeton which we reached next Morning by about nine O'Clock. There were three Regiments Quartered there, of British Troops, which we attack'd and routed. The number of the Killed Wounded and taken prisoners amounts to about 5 or 600. We lost Several Officers and about thirty privates. Genl. Mercer is badly Wounded, if not Mortally. After the Action we immediately marched for this place. I shall remove from hence to Morristown, there shall wait a few days and refresh the Troops, during which time, I shall keep a strict Watch upon the Enemy's motions; They appear to be panick struck, and I am in some hopes of driving them out of the Jerseys. It is thought advisable for you to march the Troops under your Command to Crosswix, and keep a Strict watch upon the Enemy upon that Quarter. If the Enemy continue at Brunswick, you must act with great Circumspection lest you meet with a Surprize. As we have made two successful attacks upon the Enemy by way of Surprize, they will be pointed

[45] A large part of the militia, already called out, had been directed to assemble at Morristown, and Washington's letters during the month of December show the general convergence of troops toward that point. See Washington's letter to the President of Congress, Jan. 7, 1777, *post*, for an assigned reason for marching to Morristown.

with resentment, and if there is any possibility of retaliating, will attempt it. You will give out your Strength to be twice as great as it is. Forward on all the Baggage and Scattered Troops belonging to this division of the Army as soon as may be.

You will keep as many Spies out as you will see proper, a Number of Horsemen, in the dress of the Country, must be constantly kept going backwards and forwards for this purpose, and if you discover any Motion of the Enemy, which you can depend upon, and which you think of Consequence, Let me be informed thereof as soon as possible by Express. I am &c.[46]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Pluckemin, January 5, 1777.

Sir: We have made a successful attack upon Princeton. Genl. Howe advanced upon Trenton, we evacuated the Town, and lay on the otherside of the Mill Creek, until dark, then Stole a march and attacked Princeton about nine O'Clock in the Morning; There was three Regiments Quartered there, the killed, wounded, and taken prisoners amounts to about 500. The Enemy are in great consternation, and as the Panick affords us a favourable Opportunity to drive them out of the Jerseys, It has been determined in Council, that you should move down towards New York with a considerable force, as if you had a design upon the City. That being an Object of great importance, the Enemy will be reduced to the Necessity of withdrawing a considerable part of their force from the Jerseys, if not the whole, to secure the City. I shall draw the force on this side the North River together at Morristown, where I shall watch the motions of the Enemy and avail Myself of every favourable Circumstance.

You will retain 4,000 of the Militia coming on from the New England Governments, for the expedition, you will act with

[46] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald and Stephen Moylan.

great precaution, but avail yourself of every favourable Opportunity of attacking the Enemy, when you can do it to advantage.

General Lincoln must cross the North River and come on with the remainder of the Militia to Morristown. Leave a sufficient Guard at the Highlands.

You will also have as many Boats collected together, or in such a Manner, as you may allways avail yourself of them, if it should be found expedient, for your Troops, or any part of them, to cross the North River at Dobb's ferry, or at any other of the Landings. I am etc.[47]

To DOCTOR WILLIAM SHIPPEN, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Morristown, January 6, 1777.

Dear Sir: Finding the small pox to be spreading much and fearing that no precaution can prevent it from running thro' the whole of our Army, I have determined that the Troops shall be inoculated. This Expedient may be attended with some inconveniences and some disadvantages, but yet I trust, in its consequences will have the most happy effects. Necessity not only authorizes but seems to require the measure, for should the disorder infect the Army, in the natural way, and rage with its usual Virulence, we should have more to dread from it, than from the Sword of the Enemy. Under these Circumstances, I have directed Doctr. Bond,[48] to prepare immediately for inoculating in this Quarter, keeping the matter as secret as possible, and request, that you will without delay inoculate all the Continental Troops that are in Philadelphia and those that shall come in, as fast as they arrive. You will spare no pains to carry them thro' the disorder with the utmost expedition, and to have them cleansed from the infection when recovered, that

[47] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald and Stephen Moylan.
[48] Dr. Nathaniel Bond.

they may proceed to Camp, with as little injury as possible, to the Country thro' which they pass. If the business is immediately begun and favoured with the common success, I would fain hope they will be soon fit for duty, and that in a short space of time we shall have an Army not subject to this, the greatest of all calamities that can befall it, when taken in the natural way. I am &c.[49]

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Morris Town, January 7, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have understood that the Foundery for casting brass Cannon which was begun at Philadelphia with good prospect of succees has for sometime past been neglected. The importance of having a large number of field pieces against the Spring Campaign is so very evident that I most earnestly beg every spring may be set in motion to procure them.

If the Founder is unskilful in his business I will send a Mr. Byers[50] who is experienced in it he having cast a number of very good ones in N: York. I have forwarded Captain Crain[51] to Philadelphia on order to prepare fix'd Ammunition of all kinds, you will please to give him every assistance in your power. The Cannon to be cast must be generally six pounders, some three pounders and a few twelves; the fix'd ammunition must be for these Calibres.

The person who have been employed in making the Carriages must be very industriously kept to work for mounting the Cannon that may be cast. I am, etc.

PS. The Letter from Mr. Morris of the 1st. Instt. with 50,000 Dollars came duly to hand.[52]

[49] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.
[50] James Byers, of Pennsylvania.
[51] Capt. Joseph Crane, of Knox's artillery.
[52] In the writing of John Clark; the P. S. is in that of Washington.

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Morristown, January 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote to you on the 5th. from Pluckemin, a copy of which I inclose, least the Original should have miscarried. I confirm all the Orders given in mine of the 5th., only that I would, if it is agreeable to you both, have Genl. Lincoln continue with you, and let some other proper Officer conduct the Troops who are to cross the River and join me; But this I leave intirely to yourselves. I beg you will keep up every Appearance of falling down upon New York, as that will be the surest Method of obliging them to withdraw their whole force from this side, to protect the City, and as I am confident they have not proper Magazines established there, they must be put to the most extreme want for Provisions. If they throw part of their force into New York, they will leave themselves in such a Situation, that we may in all probability fall upon them with Success.

I received yours of the 4th, last Night, and am glad to find that you have already made some dispositions to move towards New York; your following, with a Stronger force, will give a colour to our pretended or real design upon that City, for if there is a fair opening, I would have you make the attempt. I leave the Settlement, for the Arms that have been lost, to you; Justice should be done to the public and to individuals. If the Arms have been lost by neglect, the party should certainly pay for them, at a reasonable Rate; but if by any Accident, unavoidable in the Course of a Campaign, I should not think the Soldier liable. The Regimental pay Master can stop the Value of the Arms with more conveniency than the Paymaster General.

By a person who came out of New York a few days ago I am informed that there are 2000. Hessians at Fort Washington and 1. Brigade of British, and 2 Regiments of Hessians in the City.

I have so good an Opinion of Colo. Malcom, that I will engage to give him a Regiment, if he will undertake to make out such a Corps of Officers as I shall approve of, and will give me any kind of assurance that he can raise the Men. If he thinks he can comply with those two points, I shall be glad to see him, as soon as possible. I am etc.[53]

To MAJOR GENERAL BENJAMIN LINCOLN

Morristown, January 7, 1777.

Dear Sir: I am glad to hear by yours of the 4th. instant, that you had arrived at Peek's Kill, and I hope from the Measures you have taken, to hasten up your Troops, that they will soon be all with you.

General Heath will communicate mine of this date to you, by which you will find, that the greatest part of your Troops are to move down towards New York, to draw the Attention of the Enemy to that Quarter, and if they do not throw a considerable Body back again, you may in all probability carry the City, or at least blockade them in it. I believe they are not prepared for the latter, for as they have for some time past made themselves sure of holding Jersey, they have not taken proper precautions to establish large Magazines at any one place. I leave it intirely to the determination of you and Genl. Heath whether you shall continue on the East Side of Hudsons River, or come in with the Troops that are to join me. I have only to beg of you, to be as expeditious as possible in moving forward, for the sooner a panick struck Enemy are followed the better. If we can oblige them to evacuate Jersey, we must drive them to the utmost distress, for as I mentioned above, they have

[53] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

depended upon the Supplies from that province for their Winter Support. I am etc.[54]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Morris Town, January 7, 1777.

Sir: I am happy to inform you, that the account of General Mercer's death transmitted in my last, was premature, tho' it was mentioned as certain by many who saw him after he was wounded; By intelligence from Princeton yesterday evening, he was alive, and seemed as if he would do well; Unhappily he is a Prisoner. had it not been for the information I had of his death, I would have tried to have brought him away, tho' I believe it could not have been effected.

The Enemy have totally evacuated Trenton and Princeton and are now at Brunswick and the Several Posts on the Communication between that and Hudson's River, but chiefly at Brunswick. Their numbers and movements are variously reported, but all agree their force to be great. There have been two or three little skirmishes between their parties and some detachments of the Militia, in which the latter have been successfull and made a few Prisoners. The most considerable was on Sunday Morning, when Eight or Ten Waldeckers were killed and wounded, and the remainder of the party, Thirty nine or Forty, made Prisoners, with Two Officers, by a force not superior in number and without receiving the least damage.

The Severity of the Season has made our Troops, especially the Militia, extremely impatient, and has reduced the number very considerably. Every day more or less leave us. Their complaints and the great fatigues they have undergone, induced

[54] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

me to come to this place, as the best calculated of any in this Quarter, to accomodate and refresh them. The situation is by no means favorable to our Views, and as soon as the purposes are answered for which we came, I think to remove, tho' I Confess, I do not know how we shall procure covering for our Men elsewhere. I have &c.[55]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN H. STONE[56]

Head Quarters at Morristown, January 8, 1777.

Sir: You are to leave proper Officers with the Men of your Regiment now at this place, you are to do the same with those who may be sick at other places; you are also to use every means in your power, to collect the Straglers of your Regiment, And then with such Officers as can be spared, you are to repair to Maryland immediately, and facilitate the recruiting of your Regiment with all possible expedition, upon the Terms prescribed by Congress, and agreeable to the instructions given by me.

The Straglers properly Officered, as before mentioned, are to be assembled at Philadelphia, the Officer commanding them is to report their numbers to the General or Officer commanding at that place, and to see that they are regularly exercised and well instructed in the Manoeuvers.

The recruits are to be sent forward by Fiftys or upwards as raised, to Philadelphia, which is to be considered as your place of Rendezvous. If Colo. Ware[57] is able to take charge of the

[55] In the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison. The draft is also by Harrison, who had written at first that the number of militia had been reduced "to one third less than it was when we first crossed the Delaware."

[56] Lieut. Col. John Hawkins Stone, of the First Maryland Regiment. He was wounded at Germantown, Pa., in October, 1777, and resigned Aug. 1, 1779.

[57] Col. Francis Ware, of the First Maryland Regiment. He resigned Feb. 18, 1777.

Regiment, he is to come forward to that place to receive, Form and provide for the Regiment whilst you remain to forward the Men on; if he is unable to attend this duty or declines the Service, you are to proceed to Philadelphia and leave the 2nd. in command to do what is required of you.

If there are vacancies in the Regiment (exclusive of the Officers who are prisoners) I will leave the Nomination of Persons to fill them, to the field Officers of the Regiment, reserving to myself a Negative upon any improper choice, and earnestly recommend that judicious choices may be made, as your own honors and the reputation of the Regiment will depend upon it.[58]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL EDWARD ANTILL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 8, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of the 2d. instt. from Baltimore, In answer to which, I have only to desire you to call upon all your Officers who are upon recruiting Service, to exert themselves, as much as possible, in filling their Companies, and sending their Recruits forward to some general place of Rendezvous, that they may be Armed, equipped and got into Service, with as much expedition as possible. As you and Colo. Hazen[59] had the nomination of your own Officers, by virtue of your Commissions, I shall have no objection to any Gentleman of good

[58] The draft is in the writing of John Fitzgerald.

[59] Col. Moses Hazen. He commanded the Second Canadian Regiment, also called "Congress's Own." This and the First Canadian Regiment (commanded by Col. James Livingston) were raised in Canada by authority of Congress. The Second was to consist of 1,000 men, of 4 battalions of 5 companies each. About 500 men were recruited in the spring of 1776, but before the year was out the number had dwindled to less than 100. In the formation of the new army in 1777 the Second Canadian Regiment retained its original character. Hazen was to recruit in New York and New England and Antill in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The New England State bounties being larger than the Continental, Hazen encountered much difficulty, and most of the men raised for the regiment came from the middle States. Congress was plagued for a long time with the claims of many of the Canadian recruits.

Character, that you may think fit to appoint. I would only mention to you that Mr. Burwell[60] has already got a Company in the Virginia Artillery, and therefore you had better fill up the place you intended for him, with some other Person. If going to Virginia yourself will be of any Service, I certainly shall have no Objection to it. I am etc.[61]

To CHARLES, EARL CORNWALLIS

Morris Town, January 8, 1777.

My Lord: Your Lordship's Favor of Yesterday was delivered to me by the Officer who met your Flag of Truce.

You may be assured, that no molestation will be offered to the Convoy of Money and Stores, which Genl. D'Heister[62] means to send to the Hessians taken at Trenton, or to the Surgeon with Medicines for the Wounded at Princeton, by any part of the regular Army under my command: But I cannot answer for the Militia who are resorting to Arms in most parts of this State, and exceedingly exasperated at the Treatment they have met with, from both Hessian and British Troops.

I therefore thought it most adviseable, to direct Captain Barry,[63] the Bearer of this, to give a safe conduct to the Hessian Baggage as far as Philadelphia, and the Surgeon and Medicines to Princeton.

I have no objection to the Hessian Serjeant and twelve men's attending their Baggage, till it is delivered to their Countrymen; but cannot consent to their carrying their Arms, as I think none but bad Consequences can ensue from such a measure. I am etc.[64]

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[60] Capt. Nathaniel Burwell, of the First Continental Artillery.

[61] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[62] Lieut. Gen. Leopold Phillip von Heister, commander in chief of the Hessian troops in America.

[63] Capt. Thomas Berry(?), of the Eighth Virginia Regiment.

[64] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Morristown, January 8, 1777.

Gentn.: I have been honored with your several Letters of the 3d. and 5th; and return you my thanks for your kind attention to the wants of the Army and endeavours to supply them; nor am I less obliged, by your notice of the Eclipse of the Sun, which is to happen to morrow; This event, without a previous knowledge, might affect the minds of the Soldiery and be attended with some bad Consequences.

The various important Concerns, to which I am obliged to turn my attention, have prevented me from transmitting you the Intelligence I wished to have done. The Manoeuvre from Trenton, has been attended with happy effects; The evacuation of that, as well as Princeton, by the Enemy, who are now at Brunswick and the Posts below. I cannot enter upon a Minute and particular detail of the affair; and shall only add, that, in the Action, they must have lost Five hundred Men in killed, Wounded, and prisoners, besides the Stores they had in Princeton. Our loss in Slain is 6 or 7 Officers and about 25 or 30 Privates; the Number of Wounded is not ascertained; but in this list is the brave and Worthy Genl. Mercer, who is made prisoner. he was reported to be dead; but, from the last intelligence from Princeton, he was alive, and there were hopes of his doing well. I intended to have proceeded from Princeton to the Surprize of Brunswick, but was prevented by the arrival of the Enemy at the former, in their return from Trenton, before our Men had an Opportunity of resting themselves, or getting the least refreshment, after their fatiguing and hasty march. There have been two or three small Skirmishes since, between some of their Parties and those of the Militia of this State, in which the latter have been successful and made a few Prisoners. The most considerable was on Sunday Morning when 8 or 10

Waldeckers were killed and wounded, and two Officers and 39 or 40. privates taken, by a Party not superior in number and without receiving the least damage. I am etc.[65]

To COLONEL GEORGE WEEDON

Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: You are to leave proper Officers with the Men of your Regiment at the several posts where they are, including the sick. You are also to use every means in your power, to collect the Straglers of your Regiment, and then, with such Officers as can be spared, you are to repair to Virginia immediately and facilitate the recruiting of your Regiment with all possible expedition, upon the Terms perscribed by Congress, and agreeable to the instructions given by me.

The Straglers properly Officer'd as before mentioned, are to be assembled at Newtown or Philadelphia; the Officer commanding them is to report their numbers to the General or Officer commanding where they assemble, as also to me, without delay, and to see that they are regularly exercised and well instructed in the Manoeuvres. The recruits are to be sent forward by fiftys or upwards, as raised, to Philadelphia, which is to be considered as your place of Rendezvous.

P. S. Your Major is to remain with such of your Regiment as you leave at Philadelphia, for the purpose of receiving the recruits as they come, providing for 'em, and forming and disciplining of them in a proper manner.[65]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Dear Sir: I wrote you lately, since which the Enemy appear to be drawing their whole force to Brunswick, whether with design to move towards Philadelphia, attack us, or secure

[65] The draft is in the writing of Robert Hanson Harrison.

themselves from the inconveniences of detached bodies, I know not; but as many valuable purposes may, I think, be answered, by your moving towards New York, I wish that no time be lost in doing it. I have good reasons to believe, that there are very few Men left in the City of York, or upon the Island; consequently a forced march that way, may possess themselves of the City, or occasion a reinforcement to be thrown in there, which in either case cannot fail of advancing our Cause. I am etc.[66]

*To LIEUTENANT COLONEL GEORGE BAYLOR

Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Dear Baylor: Your Letter of the 1st from Baltimore came to my hands this day; Your desires of commanding a Regiment of Horse I chearfully yield to, because it is the recommendation of Congress, your own wish, and my desire.

As nothing contributes so much to the constitution of a good Regiment, as a good Corps of Officers, and no Method so likely to obtain these as leaving the choice, in a great measure, to the Gentleman who is to reap the honours, or share the disgrace arising from their Behaviour, I shall vest you with the power of Nominating the Officers of your own Regiment, except the Field Officers, and those of the Troop commanded by Geo: Lewis, which I shall annex to your Regiment (instead of Sheldons) and except a Lieutenancy in some Troop for little Starke[67]; when I talk of giving you the Nomination of the Officers, I would have it understood that I reserve to myself a negative upon a part or the whole, if I have reason to suspect an Improper choice.

I earnestly recommend to you, to be circumspect in your choice of Officers, take none but Gentlemen, let no local attachments Influence you, do not suffer your good nature (when

[66] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb.
[67] Lieut. William (?) Starke, of the Sixth Virginia Regiment.

an application is made) to say yes, when you ought to say no; remember, that it is a public, not a private cause that is to be injured or benefited by your choice; recollect also, that no Instance has yet happend of good, or bad behaviour in a Corps in our Service, that has not originated with the Officers. Do not take old Men, nor yet fill your Corps with Boys, especially for Captains; Colo. Landon Carter some time ago recommended a Grandson of his to me; if he still Inclines to serve, and a Lieutenancy would satisfy him, make him the offer of it.

I have wrote to a Majr. Clough[68] to accept the Majority of your Regiment; he is an experienced Officer, in the Horse Service, and a Gentleman like man, as far as I have seen of him. The Lieutt. Colo. I have not yet absolutely fixed on, tho' I have a person in my eye.

For further Instructions I refer to Mr. Harrison,[69] who will furnish you with a Copy of those given to Colo. Sheldon;[70] one hundred and twenty Dollars will be allowed you as the average price of the Horses; the Money for these and your accoutrements you must call upon Congress for, and I have to entreat that you will not delay a moment that can be avoided, in preparing to take the Field early. You must be upon your mettle, for others are Ingaged in the same Service and will exert themselves to the utmost to out do you. I can say nothing respecting your Uniform, as that will depend upon the Cloth to be had. Mr. James Mease of Philadelphia is appointed Clothier Genl. to the Army and to him you must apply for this Article; where you will be able to get proper Saddles I know not, if Maryland and Virginia together with Lancaster and York could furnish you, perhaps it would be better than to depend upon Philadelphia, as it is likely there may be a run upon that City for more

[68] Maj. Alexander Clough. He was appointed to the Third Continental Dragoons on January 8 and was killed at Tappan, N. Y., in September, 1778.

[69] Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison.

[70] See Recruiting Instructions, Jan. 13, 1777, *post*.

than it can furnish in a short time; let me hear frequently from you. I am etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL GUNNING BEDFORD, JUNIOR

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: Colo. Haslet having been unfortunately killed, in the late Engagement at Princeton, and the Congress having invested me with powers to fill up Vacancies, I am ready to confer the command of the 1st. Delaware Battalion upon you, if you determine to continue in the Service. I am also desirous of promoting Majr. McDonaugh[71] to the rank of Lieutt. Colo. in the same Regiment. As the Majority will become vacant by this step, I will leave the recommendation of a proper person to fill that Office, to you and him, as also what other Vacancies may be in the Regiment.

If you accept my Offer, I beg I may hear from you immediately, and that you would set about collecting Returns from the Officers who are recruiting, of the Number of Men they have inlisted. I have understood that many of Colo. Patterson's[72] Flying Camp, men inlisted with you, upon terms of going home to see their friends; if so, it is time that they should be collected and hastened forward into Service. I am etc.[73]

To COLONEL RICHARD GRIDLEY[74]

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: I received yours of December last with plans of the several Fortifications in and about Boston. I dare say they are so

[71] Maj. Thomas MacDonough, of the Delaware Regiment. He had been wounded at Long Island, N. Y., and did not rejoin the regiment. In 1781–82 he served as colonel of Delaware Militia.

[72] Col. Samuel Patterson, of the Delaware battalion of the Flying Camp. He was brigadier general of Delaware Militia, 1776–1781.

[73] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[74] Gridley had been appointed colonel and Chief of Continental Artillery and also Chief Engineer in 1776. He served as a colonel of Engineers until January, 1781.

constructed, as to answer the ends for which they were intended, in the most effectual Manner; but such is my present Multiplicity of Business that I have not had time to cast my Eyes upon them.

I think it reasonable that Captt. Chadwick[75] and your Son should be paid for their Services; and it is my desire, that Genl. Ward shall (upon the sight of this) make them proper Compensation.

It is impossible for the Quarter Master General to affix a price to the Boards, Nails and other Materials used in building the Forts. I suppose they were contracted for, at some certain price, and whatever that was, must be paid. I am etc.[76]

To EBENEZER HANCOCK[77]

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: As many of the Colonels and other Officers who are on the recruiting Service in New England, will want sums of Money for that purpose. I shall be glad to know the State of your Treasury, that I may occasionally draw upon your for the above purpose.[78] I am, etc.[79]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 1st Instant, inclosing sundry Resolves relating to this and the Northern Army; those that respect my department shall be properly attended

[75] Capt. Joseph Chadwick. He had served in Gridley's artillery in 1775.

[76] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[77] Deputy paymaster general of the Eastern Department, stationed at Boston.

[78] Hancock replied (January 30) that his treasury was very low and that "I now take the Liberty to Acquaint your Excellency, that I have lately nam'd a Child after you, for the very great Respect and Regard I have for your Excellency and the glorious Cause in which you are engag'd."

[79] In private hands. The original was sold at auction in 1910.

to. I am obliged by your Notice of Colonel Baylor on whom I shall confer the Command of Horse, to which you recommend him. When the Uniform for the Regiment is fixed upon, a Horse properly caparisoned shall be provided and presented to Colo. Baylor. There were no Horses of any Figure or Value taken at Trenton.

Since I wrote to you last, the Enemy have withdrawn all their out Garrisons, and centered their whole force at and near Brunswick, but whether with an Intention to make a stand there or make another push towards Philadelphia I cannot yet determine. Upon the evacuation of Elizabeth Town, Genl. Maxwell fell upon the Enemy's Rear and made Seventy prisoners and took a parcel of Baggage. I have the honor etc.[80]

*To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROBERT HANSON HARRISON

Morris Town, January 9, 1777.

My dear Harrison: I often intended, but before I had it in my power forgot, to ask you whether your Brother in law Majr. Johnston[81] would not, in your opinion, make a good Aid de Camp to me, I know it is a question that will involve you in some difficulty, but I beg you will not consider the Connexion between you in answering of it. I have heard that Majr. Johnston is a Man of Education. I believe him to be a Man of Sense, these are two very necessary qualification's; but how is his temper? As to Military knowledge, I do not expect to find Gentleman much skilled in it. If they can write a good Letter, write quick, are methodical, and diligent, it is all I expect to find in my Aids. do not therefore if Mr. Johnston possesses these qualities, and a good disposition, refrain (from false modesty)

[80] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.
[81] Maj. George Johnston.

to withhold your recommendation; because in that case you will do him injustice, and me a disservice.

If you think Mr. Johnston will suit me as well as any other, I should prefer him; and therefore beg that he may be sent hither immediately, as Webb[82] only waits the arrival of another Aid to set out for Connecticut. I am, etc.[83]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Morris Town, January 10, 1777.

Gentn: I have appointed Capt. Francis Wade to collect a quantity of Provisions (particularly Pork) in and about the Towns of Allentown, Crosswix &c. &c. and store the same at Newtown, Bucks County in Pensylvania. A quantity of Salt will be necessary to cure the Pork, which I must desire you to furnish from time to time, as the demand may arise. Your Compliance will greatly benefit the Service, as it will enable us to remove the Provisions out of the Enemy's way and form a necessary Magazine for ourselves. I am etc.[84]

To GOVERNOR JONATHAN TRUMBULL

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 10, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with your favor of the 23d of last Month. I hope the Congress have, in consequence of your Application, ordered up a Supply of Money for the bounty to the New inlisted Troops in your State; but least they should not have done it, I shall order Col. Palfrey to send what Cash he can spare, to the Deputy Paymaster at Peekskill, to be applied to the use of the recruiting Service to the Eastward. He, some little time

[82] Lieut. Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb.

[83] From the original in the *House of Representatives Collection* in the Library of Congress.

[84] This letter was written and signed by Gen. Nathanael Greene by order of Washington. This phraseology was afterwards deleted and the revised letter, as above, signed by the Commander in Chief.

ago, sent 150,000 Dollars to Peekskill, to be distributed by Genl. Heath among the recruiting Officers; if that Sum should not be expended, some Money may be drawn from thence; in the mean time, I must beg the favor of you, to advance the Necessary Sums, out of the Treasury of your State, assuring you it shall be refunded as early as possible.

I am very happy to hear that your Assembly have it in Contemplation to send a Body of Troops forward, to serve till your regular inlistments can be compleated. Nothing can be more distressing to the Enemy or serviceable to me, than an Army hanging upon the rear of New York, or move [*sic*] forward as Circumstances may require. Their Wishes and Views are certainly towards Philadelphia and valuable as the acquisition of that City would be; it would be paying too dear a price for it, were they to give up New York to a force that might be thrown into it, after their Army had moved Southward.

Our Success at Trenton, has been followed by another lucky Blow at Princetown on the 3d Inst.—I lay with about five thousand Men at Trenton, the Enemy advanced a Superior force down upon me from Princetown on the 2d; not choosing to risque an Engagement there, I decamped as soon as it was dark, and marched along their flank to Princeton which lay directly in their rear. I arrived there about break of day and found three Regiments of British Troops, ready drawn up to march to Trenton, we immediately attacked them and in a short time put them compleatly to the rout.

We have already taken 300 prisoners and the Country People are daily bringing in Straglers; their loss upon the whole will amount to at least 500.

The Enemy confounded at this unexpected Stroke in their rear and fearing that their Baggage at Brunswick would fall into our Hands, marched back in the Greatest hurry from Trenton to Brunswick, where their Main Body now lays. They have Called

in all their out Posts, so that their late Possession of the greatest part of Jersey is reduced to the Compass of a very few Miles. These Successes, tho' Comparatively small, have greatly inspirited the Inhabitants of this State and Pennsylvania, and I am in great hopes, if we can once put the Enemy into Winter Quarters and get some Little leisure, that our affairs may be put in such a train and upon such a footing, as will ensure success the next Campaign. I have the Honor to be &c.[85]

To RICHARD HENRY LEE

Morristown, January 10, 1777.

My Dear Sir: Your last favour, by the purport of it, (having no date) as also one or two others, at different periods, have come safe to my hands; and went unacknowledged from the hurried and distressed state of our affairs, and from the knowledge I had, that every occurence, worth noticing, came regularly to you in my letters to Congress. I thank you, Sir, for the mention of Colonel Heartley,[86] and finding, upon inquiry, that he is worthy of a regiment, I have sent him orders to raise one immediately. I shall, also, enclose Waffendall Kendall's[87] letter to some officer to the southward, that his merit and services may not go unnoticed. My letters to Congress, containing everything of a public nature that I could communicate in this, renders it unnecessary for me to add more than my compliments to our friends; my thanks for your kind wishes; and that I am, with affectionate regard, etc.[88]

[85] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[86] Col. Thomas Hartley.

[87] Lieutenant in the Fifth Virginia Regiment. Kendall was promoted to captain in April, 1777.

[88] The text is from *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee and His Correspondence*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: 1825).

*To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ROBERT HANSON HARRISON

Morris Town, January 10, 1777.

My dear Sir: Inclosed are unsealed Letters for Baylor and Majr. Clough;[89] let everything be put in motion agreeable to them as Speedily as possible; and Clough or Starke,[90] or both, set of as speedily as possible for Virginia.

If Grayson accepts the offer of a Regiment he should set out immediately to raise it, in doing which he will, I expect, derive great assistance from Levin Powell[91] if he Inclines to serve as Lieutt. Colo.; the other Officers, under the reserve of a negative, I leave to themselves to name. Young Ross[92] I shall put into Gists Regiment.

Let me have a Copy of the Instructions given Sheldon, and if you could let me know exactly, how the matter stands with respect to the exchange of Prisoners I should be glad to be furnished with it as soon as possible, as I am blamed it seems for not facilitating that matter more; take the most speedy, and effectual measures to communicate the releasements that have come out in order that the several officers concernd may be under no doubt or embarrassment with respect to the part they are to act.

The Inclosed came to me from Richd. Henry Lee Esqr. I send it that if Grayson thinks proper to make use of Captn. Kendal, he may; his writings do not convey the most exalted opinion of him, but he may be a good Officer, and somewhat of a Gentleman notwithstanding. Colo. Lee gives a good character of him, and a Company, if not obtaind at too great an

[89] Col. George Baylor and Maj. Alexander Clough, of the Third Continental Dragoons.
[90] Lieut. William (?) Stark.
[91] Lieut. Col. Levin Powell, of Grayson's Additional Continental regiment.
[92] David Ross. He was appointed a major in Grayson's regiment on January 11 and resigned in December, 1777.

expence in the officers of it, is no undesirable thing when so many Men are to be raised in a hurry. I shall add no more at present than that I am, etc.

P. S. Send me a Copy of that Resolution of Congress relative to Genl. Lee. I hear they are about to try him as a Deserter. Inclosed is the Key of my red Trunk (coverd with a Bear skin) out of which please to take a Bunch of Keyes and send them to me by the first safe hand.[93]

To JAMES MEASE

Morris Town, January 10, 1777.

Dear Sir: Your Letter of the 6th. came duly to hand and I have the pleasure to inform you that previous to your application, I had fixed upon you in my own mind, for the Office you have sollicited.[94] It will be necessary for you, or whoever discharges duties of that Office, to attend the Army, in Order that the wants of it may be known, the Cloathing received, and properly distributed.

We are distressed beyond Measure for Cloathing (Shoes and Stockings particularly) and for want of some person whose business it is to attend to this department, those Aricles which have been sent from Philadelphia, have either been lost, or misapplied, to the extreme prejudice of the Service.

A parcel sent by you to Colo. Reed, are either lost or laying where we derive no benefit from them: more I understand are coming on from the Eastward, and will be in the same predicament, unless particular attention is paid to the Matter by those whose business it is to order and direct in these Cases. For not being in the line of the Quarter Master's duty, the business is

[93] From original in the *House of Representatives Collection* in the Library of Congress.

[94] Mease's commission, dated Jan. 10, 1776, as Clothier General of the Continental Army, signed by Washington, with his personal seal attached, is in the *Washington Papers*. Its presence may be accounted for by the practice of officers returning their commissions when they resigned, which Mease did about the middle of July, 1779.

not only neglected but the Articles often injudiciously applied. With Compliments to Mrs. Mease. I am etc.

P. S. If you cannot come up at this time yourself, some person should be sent on to take charge of the Business in your behalf.[95]

*To COLONEL JOHN PATTON[96]

New Town, January 11, 1777.

Sir: Consequent of the good opinion I entertain of you as an Officer, I present you with an Appointment to the Command of a Regiment. Parke[97] will be your Lieutt. Colo. and Scull[98] (late Brigade Majr. to Genl. Thompson) your Major. I have also to desire that Lieutt. Jno. Dennis[99] (recomd. by Genl. Cadwallader) may be one of your Captains.

The rest of the Officers you, and your Field Officers will, I hope, make a happy, and judicious choice of, always keeping in view, how much your own honor and the reputation of the Regiment depend upon their goodness.

Inclosed you have a Warrant upon the Paymaster for 5,000. Dollars to begin your Recruiting with, more may be had as wanted. Wishing you to use every possible exertion in the discharge of this duty, I remain, etc.

N. B. The Surgeon's and Mates are to pass Examination of the director General of the Hospital before they are appointed. Philadelphia may be the place of Rendezvous for your Regiment.

[95] The draft is in the writing of Samuel Blatchley Webb.

[96] Of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments, which were designated by the names of their colonels. Patton's regiment was broken up in January, 1779, and a part transferred to the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment and the rest to the First Delaware Regiment.

[97] Lieut. Col. John Parke. He resigned in October, 1778.

[98] Maj. Peter Scull. He resigned in January, 1778. Washington offered him the position of assistant secretary at headquarters; became secretary to the Continental Board of War in January, 1779.

[99] Capt. John Dennis. He was taken prisoner at Red Bank, N. J., in October, 1777, and died, while a prisoner, in January, 1778.

*To COLONEL DAVID FORMAN

Morris Town, January 11, 1777.

Sir: If you Incline to accept the offer I made you the other day of raising a Regiment upon the Continental Establishment I wish it may be agreeable to you to appoint Henderson or Brailey your Lieutt. Colo. if they, or either of them Incline to serve again;—and Majr. Howell (of whom I have heard a very good Character) your Major.[1] Let me hear from you as soon as possible and you will much oblige, etc.[2]

To COLONEL NATHANIEL GIST[3]

Head Quarters at Morris Town, January 11, 1777.

Whereas the Honorable Continental Congress, by a Resolve of the 27th. Ulto., have appointed Sixteen Battalions more to be raised, in addition to eighty eight voted in September last, and have Authorized me to Nominate and Commission the Officers for the same. Know you, that I, reposing the utmost confidence in your Abilities and Attachment to the United States of America, by virtue of the Power aforesaid do constitute and appoint you a Colonel of one of the said Battalions,[4] giving and granting you Authority, by and with the advice of your other Field Officers, to appoint all Officers under the rank of Field Officers necessary for the same; nevertheless reserving to myself, the right of ratifying or rejecting such appointments.

[1] Forman appointed Thomas Henderson lieutenant colonel on January 12, as David Brearley had been appointed lieutenant colonel of the First New Jersey Regiment on January 1. Major Howell could have been Ebenezer or Richard, but neither was appointed. Forman's regiment, one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments, was never fully completed and was disbanded July 1, 1778, and the officers and men transferred to various regiments of the New Jersey line.

[2] From the original in the Rutgers University Library.

[3] Gist was taken prisoner at Charleston, S. C., in May, 1780, and retired from the service in January, 1783.

[4] The record in the *Washington Papers* is an L. S. The same commission was sent to each of the colonels appointed to command the 16 Additional Continental regiments.

And as many good Officers may have been overlook't in the new Appointments by the Committees of the several States assigned for the discharge of that business, it is my wish, that you give a preference to such of them, as you know to be deserving of notice. I do hereby require and enjoin you, forthwith to take measures for recruiting such Battalion, in the most expeditious manner, to serve for the term of three years or during the continuance of the War with Great Britain, and upon such pay, bounties, and allowances as have been resolved on by Congress for the eighty eight Battalions aforesaid.

To COLONEL WILLIAM GRAYSON[5]

Morris Town, January 11, 1777.

Dear Sir: From Mr. Harrison[6] you would know my Intention of Offering you one of the 16 Regiments, which the Congress have been pleased to leave to me to raise, and appoint the Officers of. I have expressed my desire that Colo. Levin Powell[7] should be your Lieutt. Colo. and if you have no objection, and Frazer's[8] Stomach comes to him, it will be agreeable to me that he becomes your Major, as he is spoke very well of in that Character by the General and other Officers who served with him to the Northward.

Instructions and Recruiting Orders[9] (which you are to distribute to the Officers after your Arrangement is made) are inclosed; As also a Warrant for 10,000 Dollars to begin your Recruiting with. After you have Nominated your Officers and

[5] Of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments. Grayson's regiment was consolidated with Col. Nathaniel Gist's Additional Continental regiment in April, 1779.

[6] Lieut. Col. Robert Hanson Harrison.

[7] Powell had been a major of Virginia Militia. He resigned the lieutenant colonelcy of Grayson's regiment in November, 1778.

[8] John G. Frazer(?). He had been major of the Sixth Continental Infantry during 1776 and served in the north. He was not appointed to Grayson's regiment.

[9] See Recruiting Instructions, Jan. 13, 1777, *post*.

seen them fairly entered upon the Recruiting Service, repair yourself to Philadelphia, which is to be the General Rendezvous, in order that you may receive, form, clothe, and provide for your Regiment.

The Recruits are to be marched by Fifties or upwards, as raised, and are to be sent on by the Lieutt. Colo., who is to use every means in his power to compleat the Regiment, and send the Men with all imaginable dispatch. When you compare the date of this Letter, with the Season we shall undoubtedly be drawn into the Field, and revolve the Consequences of going thither weak handed, I am persuaded no greater Stimulus can be given to your Exertions. Most sincerely wishing you Success I am, etc.

Quere. If only part of the Bounty is given at the time of Inlisting, and the rest at joining the Regiment, would it not be better? there would be less Temptation to desert.[10]

To CAPTAIN FRANCIS WADE[11]

Morris Town, January 11, 1777.

You are hereby Authorized and empowered to collect all the Beef, Pork, Flour, Spirituous Liquors &c. &c. not necessary for the Subsistence of the Inhabitants, in all the parts of East Jersey, lying below the Road leading from Brunswick to Trenton, and as fast as the Stores are collected, to be removed to Newtown, Bucks County in Pennsylvania, and, there stored, and formed into proper Magazines.

You are further Authorized and empowered, to press such Waggons, Carriages, &c. as may be necessary to transport the Provisions and Stores in the most expeditious manner to the place aforesaid. You are also to apply to the Council of Safety at Philadelphia, to furnish you with such Quantities of Salt, as may be

[10] The record in the *Washington Papers* is an L. S. in the writing of John Fitzgerald.
[11] Deputy Quartermaster General.

wanted to cure the provisions you take in. You are first to notify the Inhabitants and request them, to bring in all the above enumerated Articles not necessary for their own Subsistence, at such places as you shall appoint, for which they shall be paid a generous price; But if any refuse to comply with the request, you are directed to take such Articles as they withhold, by force, giving the proper Certificates for the Articles so taken, payable when demanded. The Commanding Officers at the different Posts in East Jersey, are hereby directed to furnish you with such Assistance, as you may require to execute the above Business.

The Quarter Master General, Thos. Mifflin Esqr. and the Commissary Genl. Thos. Lowry Esqr., are desired to furnish you with such sums of Money for their respective departments as you may require; for which you are to give your receipts and account to them for the Disbursements. I am &c.[12]

To MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have yours of the 9th. inclosing the proceedings of the Court Martial who set upon Strang.[13] In my Opinion the sentence should be confirmed and executed.

It gives me great pleasure to find, that your Troops are in so great forwardness to move down on both sides of the River. I think the diversion which you will create, will be attended with the most happy Consequences to us, and distress to the Enemy. Forage for the Winter will be one of their greatest Wants, and I highly approve of your Intentions of collecting all you can, not only to put it out of their reach, but as it will be most Serviceable to us.

[12] The record in the *Washington Papers* is an L. S.

[13] Daniel Strang. He was tried at Peekskill, N. Y., on January 4 for being a spy and enlisting men for the British, and was sentenced to be hanged. A copy of the proceedings is in the *Washington Papers*.

You were certainly right, in retaining the Artillery men upon the bounty of 10 Dollars; by the time the Six Weeks expire, I hope we shall have a Sufficient number of new Recruits.

As I have never intermeddled in the affair of Lady Johnson's Confinement, I think the propriety of her Enlargement had better be still Submitted to the Convention of New York.

Make my Compliments to Genl. Lincoln and inform him that I had the pleasure of his Letter of the 9th. and that I am pleased with his continuing with you on the East Side of the River.

The Flints left at Durham should be forwarded on; you will retain as many at Peekskill, as are wanted for your Division, and order the remainder on to my Army. I am &c.[14]

*To COLONEL THOMAS HARTLEY[15]

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: Instructions, Recruiting Orders, and a warrt. for 5,000 Dollars for Recruiting, are herewith Inclosed. Copies of the Recruiting orders are to be given to the Officers so soon as they are nominated, and I should think if only part of the bounty was given to the Men at the time of Inlisting and the residue when they join, it might be a means of preventing Desertion.

Philadelphia is to be your Genl. Rendezvous; so soon therefore as you have put the Recruiting Service into a proper Train, repair to that place yourself, in order to receive, form, Cloath, Discipline, and provide for your Regiment. The Recruits, with proper Officers, are to be forwarded to Philadelphia by fifties, or upwards as they are raised.

I am satisfied, I need urge nothing more to you as a stimulus to the completion of your Regiment, as speedily as possible, than to desire you will compare the present date with the time we shall have occasion to take the Field with our whole Force.

[14] The draft is in the writing of Tench Tilghman.

[15] Of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments. Hartley's regiment was designated the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment Dec. 16, 1778.

The appointment of your Lieutt. Colonel, and Major, is left to yourself under the reservation contained in your Instructions. Once a Week you are to inform me of the State of your Regiment and how you proceed in Recruiting. I am &c.

*To COLONEL SAMUEL BLATCHLEY WEBB[16]

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: * * *[17] You are to fix upon some Central place for the Rendezvous of your Recruits where you are to attend in order to receive, form, Cloath, Discipline and provide necessaries for your Regiment, the Recruits with proper Officers are to be assembled at that place as fast as they are Inlisted; and you are, once a Week to advise me of the state of your Regiment, and howe you proceed in the Recruiting of it. The short time allowed us for the most vigorous preperations will I am persuaded render arguments unnecessary to stimulate you to the speedy completion of your Regiment and preparing it for the Field; in this business I heartily wish you success and am etc.[18]

*To COLONEL HENRY JACKSON

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: From the good report I have of you, and from the desire I feel of affording the Town of Boston an oppertunity of

[16] Of one of the 16 Additional Continental regiments. Webb's regiment was designated the Third Connecticut Regiment, Jan. 1, 1781.

[17] The omitted paragraph is identical, except that the amount of the warrant is left blank, with the first one in Washington's letter to Col. Thomas Hartley the same date as this letter, *q. v.*

[18] Precisely this same letter was sent to Col. David Henley, Ezekiel Cornell, Alexander Scammell, and Henry Sherburne, to whose instructions were added the directions to appoint Eleazer Oswald lieutenant colonel and [William] Bradford major. (See preceding letter.) Henley's regiment was consolidated with Jackson's Apr. 22, 1779. Cornell did not accept, and became brigadier general of Rhode Island Militia in 1777 and Inspector General of the Continental Army Sept. 19, 1782. Scammell also declined, and became Adjutant General of the Continental Army Jan. 5, 1778; colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment Jan. 1, 1781; he was mortally wounded at Yorktown, taken prisoner by the British, and died, while a prisoner, Oct. 6, 1781. Oswald did not accept his appointment, but became lieutenant colonel of the Second Continental Artillery.

turning out a Regiment (and such an one as may become a pattern to others) I do myself the pleasure of sending you the Inclosed appointment, Recruiting Orders, and Warrant upon the Paymaster in that district for money to recruit with.

The confidence I repose in you will not, I am satisfied, be abused, time will not admit of delay, nor the Necessity of the case of Indecision, you will therefore I am perswaded, set about this Work with all possible diligence. * * *[19]

*To THE SELECTMEN OF THE TOWN OF BOSTON

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Gentn.: The Inclosed will give you the full scope of my design; if Colo. Jackson does not Incline to accept the appointment I must request the favour of you to give it with the same powers to some other fit Person.[20] Time will not admit of the Matters being refer'd back; as I hope to see the Men in the Field in almost as short a space as it would take to negotiate the affair in a case of a disappointment. I am, etc.

To COLONEL JOSEPH REED

Head Qrs. Morristown, January 12, 1777.

Dear Sir: Yours of the eleventh is come to hand. If the account the prisoners give be true it is a very agreeable and important one.

The order you sent to Colonel Winds[21] has interfered with a plan, concerted by Generals Sullivan and Maxwell. Whenever

[19] The omitted portion is the same as the conclusion of Washington's letter to Col. Samuel Blatchley Webb and others of the same date as this letter. (See preceding letter.)

[20] Jackson accepted. The regiment was raised and its designation changed to the Sixteenth Massachusetts Regiment July 23, 1780.

[21] Col. William Winds, of the First New Jersey Regiment. He was at this time a brigadier general of New Jersey Militia.

you have occasion to order a movement of any part of the army, it will be best to apply to the Commanding officer, lest it may, as it has in the present instance, interfered with some other object. I wish you had brought Vanhorne[22] of with you, for from his noted character, there is no dependance to be placed upon his Parole, nothing new here but the arrival of Genl. Stephen with the baggage of the Army. Genl. Putnam is or soon will be at Princeton. Heath is moving towards Kingsbridge, a Detachment from that quarter are at Ramapo. I am, etc.[23]

To THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: I am honored with yours of the 6th. inclosing Several Resolves of Congress respecting an Exchange to be proposed between Genl. Lee and the Hessian Field Officers taken at Trenton. Colo. Rall[24] died the day after the Action and we left one of the Majors, so ill of his Wounds, that I am in doubt of his recovery.[25] I can however make an Offer of all that remain, in Exchange for General Lee, except one that you order to be proposed for Colo. Allen.[26]

If the offer is rejected by General Howe, I shall think myself then at liberty to remonstrate to him on [the Subject of] his

[22] P. Van Horne, of New Brunswick, N. J.

[23] The text is from the Toner Transcripts in the Library of Congress.

[24] Col. Johann Gottlieb Rall, or Rahl.

[25] Maj. Friedrich Ludwig von Dechow. He died of his wounds Dec. 27, 1776.

[26] Congress had resolved (January 6) that General Washington propose to General Howe the exchange of six Hessian field officers taken at Trenton, N. J., in exchange for General Lee, and (January 3) one for Col. Ethan Allen. Reports that General Lee was ill treated moved Congress to resolve that retaliatory measures be exercised. President Hancock wrote to Washington (January 6): "General Lee's situation seems to be extremely dangerous and critical; and, from General Howe's Behaviour to him, it is highly probable, he will be brought to a Trial for Desertion. General Lee, it is said, by Mr. Eustace, his aide-de-camp, having addressed two Letters to Genl. Howe, received them both back again unopened, and enclosed under a Cover directed to *'Lieutenant Colonel Lee.'* I hope the Flag, which Congress ordered to be sent to make Enquiry into the Manner in which he is treated, has been despatched; and a Remonstrance in Consequence of it, should the Information you have received of his Treatment, have rendered that Step necessary."

treatment of General Lee. If he will not exchange him, he should at least admit him to his Parole, as we have ever done their prisoners who have fallen into our Hands. I understand, from undoubted Authority, that they intend to try the General, by a Court Martial, as a deserter from their Service, pretending that his Resignation was never accepted of. But I shall inform Genl Howe, that if any such step is taken, under so Shallow and illegal a pretext, and their Sentence Should extend, either to effect his Life or Liberty, that they may depend upon the most Severe and adequate Retaliation upon our part.

The Enemy have made no Move since my last, by every Account they begin to be distressed, particularly for Forage, of which there is little or none remaining in the small Circle they possess, except Salt Hay. By Letters from Genl. Heath of the 9th, he was begining to move down towards Kingsbridge with the Troops [coming in] from New England. This must add to the distress of the enemy, who will by this Measure be deprived of the Subsistence they formerly drew from West Chester and the Counties to the Northward of York Island. I am &c.[27]

To ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER AND GEORGE WALTON

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Gentn.: I have your several Favors of the 7th and 9th instant. Complaints of the Usage of the prisoners, both in the land and Sea service, have been the subjects of many of my Letters [both] to Lord and General Howe, but all the Satisfaction or Answer, that I could ever obtain, was, that the Reports were groundless. However upon the Authority of Capt. Gamble's

[27] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

relation, and the miserable emaciated Countenances of those poor Creatures, who have lately been released, I shall take the Liberty of remonstrating sharply to his Lordship and the General, and let them know in very plain terms, that if their rule of Conduct towards our prisoners is not altered, we shall be obliged, however disagreeable it may be, to make retaliation.

I think your plan of appointing Agents to attend the prisoners would answer many good purposes, that particularly of seeing them regularly and honestly supplied with whatever their Allowance may be. And then, any Accounts of ill Usage coming thro' them, would be so authentic, that we might safely proceed to take such measures towards their prisoners as would be fully justifiable. I shall demand Capt. Burke[28] for Lieut. Boger and agreeable to your Request, desire that Capt. Bell and Getshius[29] may be sent out under parole, at the same time mentioning to Lord Howe, that we do not treat Captains of Merchantmen as Prisoners of War.

I dont know what to make of the Information of Joseph Traverse,[30] it appears very strange to me, that people who have been 12 Months from Canada, should be able to lay any plans, at the distance of many hundred Miles, that can be any way detrimental to us. I have just received Letters from the French Officers at Reading, desiring a Liberty of returning home under our Cartel, but if it should be thought improper just now, on account of the above information, I have no objection to their being detained a while longer.

[28] Capt. William Burke. He had been a lieutenant under Capt. John Manley, of Washington's fleet, in 1775–76 and, later, succeeded to the command of Manley's vessel. Lieutenant Boger was from the British frigate *Liverpool*.

[29] According to Sir William Howe's letter to Washington (January 17), Captains Bell and Getshius were sea captains.

[30] Capt. Joseph Traversi, of the Second Canadian Regiment. A contemporary copy of his information, in the *Washington Papers*, gives intelligence of an alleged plot among the Canadian prisoners at Reading, Pa.

I received a Letter from Mr. Walton,[31] inclosing the Names of the Captain and Crew of an Armed Boat, belonging to Georgia, which was taken by the Raven Man of War. I will, when I write to Lord Howe, transmit the List and desire an Exchange.

The Enemy are very quiet at Brunswick and Amboy, to all appearance more afraid of an attack, than thinking of attacking. General Heath is begining to move towards Kingsbridge and a few days will shew [us] what Alteration a diversion in that quarter will make. I have the honor to be &c.[32]

To THE PENNSYLVANIA COUNCIL OF SAFETY

Head Quarters, Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Gentlemen: I have yours began upon the 31st. last Mo. and contained to the 4th Inst. I am obliged to you for Mr. Stanleys information, but I was before acquainted with the most material parts from other Quarters.

I would not yet suffer any of the foreign prisoners to inlist among our Troops, their Affection for us is not as fully settled and confirmed as I hope it will be a little time hence.

I shall cheerfully co-operate with you in any Measures to support the Credit of our paper Currency, which I am informed has greatly regained its Value since our late Successes.

As the Militia who first came into Service, begin to grow tired, I hope you will have others ready to supply their places when they are discharged. The happy turn of our Affairs has been in a great Measure owing to the Spirit of the Militia of

[31] George Walton, Delegate from Georgia to the Continental Congress. His letter, dated Jan. 9, 1777, is in the *Washington Papers*, but the list of prisoners is missing. Richard, Lord Howe's letter to Washington (January 17) claimed that the crew of the armed boat had been exchanged, except Messrs. Brown, Kirk, Watson, and Lee, who were not exchanged because of illness.

[32] In the writing of Tench Tilghman. The words in brackets are in the draft and not in the letter sent.

your State, and I hope their Brethren will not be backward in defending the Conquests which they have made.

I beg you will give every Assistance in your power to the Commissaries in providing Flour which is the only Article we are in any danger of wanting. Those Millers who have Wheat and refuse to grind it at this time, should be treated as the worst Enemies of their Country. A Scarcity of Flour in Pennsylvania must be fictitious and not owing to any real Want, and therefore should be strictly inquired into. I am, etc.[33] [H.S.P.]

To COLONEL HENRY SHERBURNE

Morris Town, January 12, 1777.

Sir: Instructions Recruiting Orders, and a Warrant for 6000 Dollars to Recruit with, are now Inclosed to you. Copies of the Recruiting Orders are to be given to the Officers so soon as they are nominated, and I should think if only part of the bounty was given to the Men at the time of enlisting them and the residue when they join their Regt. it might be a means of preventing Desertion.

You are to fix upon some Central place for the Rendezvous of your Recruits where you are to attend in order to receive, form, Cloath, Discipline and provide necessaries for your Regiment, the Recruits with proper Officers are to be Assembled at that place as fast as they are Inlisted, and you are once a week to advise me of the State of your Regiment and how you proceed in the Recruiting of it.

The short time allowed us for the most Vigorous which I am persuaded Render Arguments unnecessary to stimulate you to the speedy Completion of your Regiment and preparing it for the Field.

[33] In the writing of Tench Tilghman.

In this Business I heartily wish you success and am Sir yr. etc. Eleazer Oswald,[34] late with Genl. Arnold is to be yr Lt. Col. Bradford,[35] is to be your Major.[36]

[34] Oswald had served as a volunteer in the Canadian expedition; had been taken prisoner and exchanged only two days before the date of this letter. He became lieutenant colonel of the Second Continental Artillery, but resigned in June, 1778.

[35] Maj. William Bradford, of Rhode Island. He had been an aide to General Lee; served as major of Sherburne's Additional Continental regiment until January, 1781.

[36] The text is from the *Magazine of American History,* vol. 3, p. 119.

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